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A

HISTORY OF THE GREAT MOGHULS

OR

A HISTORY OF THE BADSHAHATE OF DELHI

From 1398 A.D. to 1739

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION CONCERNING

THE

MONGOLS AND MOGHULS OF CENTRAL ASIA

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BY

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PREFACE.

I HAVE been at work for a very considerable time in getting together the material for this volume. At first I had hoped to have done some original work in the way of translating Persian authorities, not yet translated, and to have incorporated the results in this book. But the engrossing calls of my profession have made the spare time at my disposal very small and the distance at which I live from any good Oriental Library, has made such work practically impossible. I determined, therefore, at an early stage of my task to leave such an undertaking altogether on one side and to make this work one readable by the intelligent man of the street, the person who knows but little of Indian History but has an interest in India. I have not hesitated, as my readers will see, to give my own deductions from the History of India of the 16th Century, as far as these bear upon the great Indian problems of to-day, and in this, however lame and inconclusive my opinions may seem to many, I believe I have done no wrong. The use of history is to teach political wisdom, so said Machiavelli long ago, and the study of Indian History would be robbed of much of its profit if through the glass of the past we never read the present and the future. The fact of the volume having been written at various times and in scraps, will account for a certain amount of repetition which my readers will, I am afraid, find in spite of my attempts at excising the same. They will also, I hope, pardon the length of many of my quotations. These are taken out of books, most of which are not likely to come the way of the general reader and which tell my story better than I can myself. If I can succeed in rousing my readers' interest in the period of Indian History of which I write, I shall feel myself amply-rewarded. I propose

in a second volume to carry the story down to the time A.D. 1739 when a second Conqueror, Nadir Shah, entered Delhi and practically ended the Moghul Empire, as Taimur three and a half centuries earlier virtually destroyed the old Afghan rule.

As to the spelling of Eastern names, not writing for the specialist but for the general public, I have spelt them as they are ordinarily spelt, though in certain instances, as for instance in the name of the Prophet and his followers, I have preferred the spelling which most clearly suggests the sound. My readers will note that I write of the Mongols when speaking of the races of Central Asia and of the Moghuls when I write of the Emperors at Delhi and of their followers.

One word as to the name. The main title I have taken for this book is not strictly accurate. More correct is the sub-title, but I am afraid it is too long for ordinary use. Hence I hope the shorter first title will be pardoned.

MOZUFFERPORE,
August 22nd, 1904.

PRINGLE KENNEDY.

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HISTORY OF THE GREAT MOGHULS.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

HINDUSTAN.

The term India, as it is now used, to indicate the territory under the direct or indirect rule of the British Crown, denotes a very different tract of country from what was the India of the Classical writers or the Hindustan of the Moghuls. School books teach that India is bounded on the North by the Himalayas, on the West by the Arabian Sea, Beluchistan and Afghanistan, on the South by the Indian Ocean, and on the East by the Bay of Bengal and a country not easily defined, but, roughly speaking, the lands adjacent to the West of South China. For many years a part of Burmah has been subject to the British Crown, and since 1886 the rest of Burmah has also come under the direct rule of England. All this country is often also termed India. Used in this sense, India ceases to be a geographical expression. It becomes a brief description of one of the great political divisions of Asia. But used even in the narrower and commoner sense, India can hardly be considered as a country. It must rather be deemed a Continent. Anything more different than the country, say, round Peshawar and Lahore, and that round Dacca and Chittagong, or the natural features of the country in which Delhi stands and those of the neighbourhood of Seringapatam can hardly be imagined. And as the country is, so are the people. It is a trite saying, that Indian differs from Indian more than Englishman from Neapolitan. The unity, indeed, which in Europe, marks a country and its people, a unity

which may not completely exist, but which is still what mainly divides country from country, is not to be looked for in India. Any ideas taken from a study of European political and natural life must be put on one side before we can attempt to understand matters Indian. And yet there are causes that make for unity more powerfully in India than even in the West. Of the most potent of these, the Muhammedan religion, I will have much to say later on. At present I content myself with pointing this out.

The greatest line of division in Indian geographically, physically and ethnically, is between the North of India and the Peninsula. Geographically these two divisions represent very different periods of the Earth's history; the vegetation in the Peninsula is mainly of the tropical kind, the large leafed, comparatively flowerless vegetation of the tropics; in the North the temperate kingdom makes itself everywhere manifest. Owing to the continuity by land the animals of the South and the North are not divided by any very clear line, though there are abundant differences to be pointed out on close inspection; but when one comes to the noblest animal, man, the differences are very great and strike the most inobservant almost as much as they do the historian and the anthropologist.

Hindustan, the country of the Hindus, does not in its proper acceptance include the Peninsula. It does not even include all of what we call Northern India, though in common language the two words are often considered synonymous. The real land of the Hindu proper is only that part of the country which lies within the watersheds of the Indus and the Ganges, together with most of the hilly and sandy tract now known as Rajputana. Northern India contains much more than this. In addition to the provinces of Malwa and Khandesh, which can hardly be considered as parts of the Peninsula, and the countries we have just mentioned, the land within the watershed of the Brahmaputra, as far as it is India at all, would come within the term Northern India as it is commonly used. But the land within this watershed has had but little to do with the history of India, very little indeed to do with the history of Moghul India, with

which I am particularly interested. When either the Peninsula known to Indian historians as the Deccan, or the Brahmaputra lands come into notice in this book they will be treated more or less as foreign countries. The rule of the Moghul never established itself in either of them with any permanency. As portions of Armenia and Mesopotamia were at times in Roman history overrun by Roman armies, but never thoroughly brought within Roman influence, so has been the case with the Deccan and the Brahmaputra Valley. In the time of the last Great Moghul, Aurungzeb, indeed, we have Moghul soldiers very far south ;* but they are there, rather as carriers out of magnified razzias, than as the precursors of a regular Moghul administration. And so with the Brahmaputra Valley. Now and then a Moghul expedition ascends this mighty river, a petty King or two is defeated, some towns destroyed ; and then the rains come, and the invader has to retreat, if happily he can retreat, and the result has been like little Peterkin's glorious victory, so much and nothing more.

Even in the more circumscribed area to which we have now confined ourselves, we will find that we have to leave a considerable part out in order to get a just view of Moghul India. And here I must warn my readers from confounding Moghul India with Muhammedan India. In the Peninsula, as we will see, there flourished prosperous Muhammedan kingdoms, but these were not Moghul either in origin or development. The ruling Muhammedan influence was not Moghul but either Arab or Persian, the so-called *Hubshi*† or Abyssinian, who is a close kinsman of the Arab, having often a predominant influence.

In the Empire established by the Moghuls we will find three towns pre-eminent, so much so, indeed, that the history of the Empire may be considered in one light, as but little more

* But all the same even as far as Cape Comorin from the time of Aurungzeb on we find numerous administrative arrangements which are directly traceable to Moghul influence.

† *Hubshi* is translated in the dictionaries, commonly, as negro. It is used, however, chiefly by Muhammedan historians for an Abyssinian, who, I need hardly say, is not of the race commonly known to us as negroes.

than the history of the rulers of these towns. These three cities are Lahore, Delhi, Agra. Milton, when speaking of the Moghul Empire, writes,

And thence
to Agra and Lahore of Great Moghul.*

At the present day it sounds strange to associate any city more closely than Delhi with the fortunes of the Great Moghul, but yet Milton in his description was perfectly right. For a long period, roughly speaking from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, Delhi is an Imperial city, had ceased to exist. It was abandoned by Akbar, who, for a variety of reasons, preferred Agra, and gradually sunk into ruins. The present city of Delhi, commonly known amongst Muhammedans as Shahjahanabad, was founded by Shah Jahan well in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is situated at a considerable distance from old Delhi. Within the ambit of its walls, for New Delhi almost alone of towns of any size in India is surrounded by a wall, there is but one memorial of any note of the Afghan rule that preceded the Moghul, a mosque, known as the Kala Musjid. This is more interesting to the antiquarian than to the historian, for though it is an excellent specimen of the early heavy Afghan style of building, no memories of any importance attach themselves to its name. In Milton's younger days wanderers to the East if they wished to see the Great Moghul, would either find him in his Capital Agra, or on one of his camping expeditions in which Lahore was often the objective, as being on the road to Kashmir and Afghanistan. When reached, Lahore was often favoured as the Muhammedan historian would term it with a lengthy visit from the shadow of omnipotence. This town's importance indeed entirely arose from its being a half-way house. All conquerors of Hindustan from Muhammad of Ghazni in the eleventh century down to Ahmad Shah Abdali in the eighteenth have made straight for it. After crossing the Indus, its site seem to have been chosen almost by

* Book XI, p. 334.

nature, as the first halting place of an advancing force. Sher Shah, the Afghan ruler of Behar, who turned Humayun, the second of the Moghuls, out of India, and ruled in his stead at Delhi and Agra, had the true instinct when he regretted on his deathbed that he had not destroyed Lahore. That city, he said, existed on the very road of an invader. After capturing it, an invader can there collect his supplies and organise his resources. Such has been the case in past invasions of India, and the peculiar geographical formation of the Punjab with its sandy deserts to the South make it probable that if invasion ever sweep India again from the North-West, it will again pass the same way, through the same city Lahore.

But if Lahore be the half-way house, Delhi is the real capital of any ruler of Upper India. And so with intervals it has been for very many centuries, stretching back to at least ten centuries before the birth of Christ, Ancient Hastinapura, where the Pandus and Kurus grew up together, has its site not far from Modern Delhi. When Muhammedan invasion first sweeps over the land, we find the Rajput rulers of Delhi the foremost in their opposition. When Muhammad Ghori strikes Prithvi Rai, the Rajput ruler of Delhi, to the dust at Thaneswar at the end of the twelfth century, the Rajput rule over Hindustan comes to an end. And as long as the Afghan Muhammedan sovereigns, who ruled from the battle of Thaneswar A. D. 1193 to the battle of Panipat in A. D. 1526, reigned at Delhi, even if their reign did not reach to further than ten miles from the City, so long were they considered by Muhammedans and Hindus alike as the lawful rulers of Hindustan. Delhi is indeed situated in an unrivalled position as the Capital of a race, whose strength comes from the high lands of Central Asia. It is near enough to the lands from which the warriors who are the main source of such a race's strength come, for a continuous stream of such warriors ever to be able to reach there. Behind it to the West, it is fortified by the wastes of the Punjab. On the outskirts of Rajputana it is a check to all invasions by the Rajput Chiefs, and situated as it is near where the Jumna,

one of the twin streams that jointly make the mighty Ganges and water the most fertile part of India, comes from the hills, it commands the fertile country to the South and the East. One of the main sources of strength of the Moghul Empire was this endless stream of warriors from the deserts and mountains of Central Asia. When this source was dammed up; when Moghul and Afghan ceased to pour in numbers through the North-Western passes, in the hope of acquiring high dignity and great fortunes under the Delhi Emperor's rule, when India for the Indians, in Akbar's time and in that of the following reigns, to adapt modern a political phrase, became the rule, from that time the days of the Moghul were numbered.

England, too, has one of her main sources of strength in the annual pouring of Englishmen into Hindustan through her great seaports. Calcutta and Bombay stand in the same relation to English rule that Delhi did to Moghul. It is through them that England's greatness flows. Shut off this supply, and England's power in India goes at once. As long as England rules supreme in Eastern seas, as long the English steamer, with its mighty heaving many horse-powered engines, rides without rivalry in the Indian Ocean, so longer and no longer is India English. Bombay and Calcutta are as naturally and rightly English Capitals (not far away Simla or any other retreat, however pleasant, between which and the mighty Ocean hundreds of miles intervene) as was Delhi the natural and rightful Capital of the Great Moghul.

Agra is of comparatively modern times. It first springs into importance in the beginning of the sixteenth century A Muhammedan historian tells us that Sultan Sikandar Lodi, the immediate predecessor of Ibrahim, who fell at Panipat A. D. 1526 and who was the last of the old Pathan Sultans, desired to found a town on the Jumna which might be the Head-quarters of his army. Accordingly he sent out certain of his Councillors on an exploring expedition down the river. Having chosen the site, where Agra now stands, they communicated their choice to the Sultan. He came to inspect the place so chosen. When he came near he

observed two elevated places, both of which seemed suitable for building; on enquiry from Mihtar Mulla Khan, who was called Naik and commanded the royal barge, which of these two mounds appeared to him the more suitable, he replied, that which is Agra, or in advance, is the preferable one. The Sultan smiled, and said the name of this city shall then be Agra. The city rapidly grew, and in the time of Akbar became definitely the Capital of the Moghul Empire, continuing so until the days of the decadence, when Delhi again became the chief seat of the Emperor. But although Agra was the Capital in the palmiest days of Moghul rule, as a metropolis it is not to be compared with Delhi either in natural advantages or in position. Akbar's choice of it was probably mainly due to his Hinduising policy and his desire to make his kingdom as independent as possible of support from Central Asia, a policy certainly laudable enough in itself, but which, as I have pointed out, had much to do with the eventual downfall of the Moghul Empire, and the substitution in its place, not of the loyal and honourable Rajput, but of the crafty and predatory Mahratha.

CHAPTER II.

The two great rivers of the Hindustan concerning which I write are the Indus and the Ganges; both rise not far from each other, one from the Northern and the other from the Southern side of the snowy ranges of the Himalayas. The Indus for many hundreds of miles keeps to the North of the Himalaya barrier, making a large sweep to the North of Kashmir, only breaking through the hills at a very great distance from its source. The streams which make up the Ganges, on the other hand, after a comparatively short journey through the lower ranges of the Himalayas reach the plains of India at Hurdwar; and from there the Ganges as one stream without interruption makes its way through the most fertile part of India, taking in affluents from all sides, until in Lower Bengal it breaks into many deltaic streams and thus reaches the sea.

The difference between the lands about the two rivers is no less marked than the difference between the rivers themselves. Almost the whole course of the Indus from Attock to the sea is through a sandy desert, through which the western river, after it loses the high velocity which it has as a hill stream, meanders along a course by no means over well defined. Its great tributaries flow through lands not much richer in vegetation than are the lands surrounding the Indus itself. Within a few miles of these streams agriculture flourishes and indeed, wherever river water can be brought by artificial means, agriculture is possible, but throughout a great part of the Punjab and Sind, the provinces through which the Indus and her affluents flow, the land is a barren Sahara, unfit for any population save the scantiest.

Far different is the case of the Ganges. On either side her waters are augmented by those of mighty tributaries. The greatest is the Jumna which bursts from the Himalayas, not far to the West of Hurdwar and is almost as large a stream as the Ganges itself. And besides the Jumna, the Ganges has, joining her on the northern side, many mighty streams flowing from the snows of the Himalayas; on the southern side also she receives the waters of rivers, such as the Sone, which fertilise a large tract of country. On either side of her course for hundreds of miles the land is fertile even at a great distance from the stream. This more particularly is the case on the northern and eastern bank, where there may be in many places rank jungle, but where sandy desert is unknown and where there are no hills intervening between the lower Himalayas and the river herself. On the southern side both desert and hills encroach, but still the amount of fertile land is immensely greater than what is to be found on either bank of the Indus. Consequently of the two rivers, the Ganges has had much the greater influence in the History of India. She is to the Hindu what the Nile is to the Egyptian or the Volga to the Russian. The early people, whose sacred poem was the *Rigveda* and who came from the far West, tarried for a time upon the banks of the Indus, but only for a time. They

soon found that the real abode of the Aryans was further East and within a few hundred years from the time that they first crossed the Indus, they were found permanently settled in Aryavarta, *i.e.*, in the Upper Gangetic plain. The history of the land through which the Ganges flows is really the history of India. On her banks arose those great mixed systems of Theology, Philosophy, and social order which we know as Hinduism and Buddhism, which are the special claim of Hindustan to the attention of the thinking world. It was also along the banks of the Ganges, that the main scenes in the history alike of Muhammedan and English invasion have been played.

I have already referred to the great cities of the Moghul. Of these, Delhi alone was great in pre-Muhammedan time, it being pre-eminently the home of the Rajput, the warrior and the King. To know, however, Hindu India aright, one has to know neither Raja nor soldier, one has to know and to appreciate the Pundit. His city of cities is not Delhi but Benares, the great city dedicated to Mahadeo, the God of destruction, which with its thousand and one temples overlooks the Ganges in her middle course. This city represents alike the genius of Hinduism and Buddhism, the creeds of men residents of a torrid clime, where all things tend towards contemplation rather than action, passivity rather than activity, where to man all life seems more or less weariness and vexation of spirit and where death, non being, is an object of desire rather than of fear, an aspiration rather than a dread. There the great centre of attraction is not a temple but a burning ghat, where the pyre is ever burning *Ram Ram Suth hai*; Ram is true; men pass away, like the bubbles of a river, sparkling, bursting, borne away; but the permanent force of the Universe, its soul ever remains, and it is to both the Hindu and Buddhist alike, though the latter is not to be found in Benares, now having abandoned the city, however, only after having placed his permanent mark therein, the greatest aim to be absorbed into this universal soul, to leave all personal identity and to be again what one was before birth, unseparated, non-differentiated from the universal mind. Such creeds

tend to produce contemplative dreamers, mild saints, but not men of action, soldiers, statesmen, and not the least of the reasons why India has been conquered again and again, has been that Hinduism in its innermost essence is not a creed, capable of rousing a race to common action, of inspiring it with a determination to do. To die, yes; this Hinduism can do; but to act, this is not of it nor from it.

CHAPTER III.

Central Asia.

From the Hindu Kush stretching North and South-East go out two gigantic mountain masses the southern of which, known for the greater part of its length as the Himalayas, is the northern boundary of India, and the northern of which, known as the Thian Shan and by many other names, is the southern boundary of what we know as Siberia. Between these two mountain ranges is a land, having enormous plateaus and vast deserts. Only towards the East, in the land known now as Manchuria, is there any great quantity of fertile land. Wherever, elsewhere, there are to be found oases, these are the results of streams flowing from the mountains of the North or the South. At some time, geologically, not very distant this land was at the bottom of an inland Ocean. Receding, it has left behind it an enormous quantity of sand; and the deserts in it are probably greater and drier than those to be found anywhere else on the earth. Even now the drying process is going on; the ancient Lob Nor, once a large lake, has dried up, and the new Lob Nor also shows signs of a diminution in its volume of water. Modern discoveries have found in different parts of the country buried cities, dried up water-courses. In the central part of this country rain but seldom falls. If any clouds manage to cross the lofty Himalayas, they generally hurry across to South Siberia, leaving but very little of their refreshing waters for this Central district.

This country has been inhabited for ages by wandering tribes, bearing many names; the commonest of which are Turks

Mongols and Manchus. The latter live in the far East and with them I have nothing to do. The Mongols were the Central tribe, the Turks the Western. These latter, indeed, are found in history largely outside of the country of which I now write, either in the valleys of the Oxus and Jaxartes or in the lands to the S.-E. of the Caspian and Aral Seas, but the original home of them as far as they are of non-Aryan origin, is this Central Asian Zone. Probably these three races were more or less cognate in blood; but the Turk, who has lived for ages in the West in close contiguity to Persia and the Iranian inhabitants thereof, has become by inter-marriage with these latter markedly different in physical characteristics from the Moghul, who has roamed for centuries over the wild steppes of the middleland and never inter-married with a foreign race. The Natives of India commonly talk of any fair foreigner, particularly of Persians as Moghuls; but this is a misuse of terms. The real Mongol is the hideous hairless flat-faced denizen of Central Asia. The great Emperors of India had but little Mongol blood in their veins; they were really Turks. They called themselves Moghuls to maintain their connection with Chenghiz Khan, the scourge of Asia in the early thirteenth century; but they are known by Indian and other historians as Chagatai Turks.

The Turk has made a great name for himself in this world's history. His is the Sultanate at Constantinople; his has been the Padshahate at Delhi. He has not been a pure destroyer as the Mongol. A Muhammedan within a century or two after the Hegira, he entered into the spirit of Arab civilization, and though he has worked this out after his own fashion, he has never relapsed into utter savagery. But still he has always more or less retained the characteristics which mark his Central Asian ancestry. Atavism is to be discovered constantly in his dealings with his fellow-man, and he who studies the Mongol annals of the middle ages from Chenghiz on, will find it not difficult to understand the outbursts of blood thirstiness and cruelty in Osmanli Turkey and in Moghul India. To one desiring to study Moghul rule in India, a brief account of the

Mongol and with it Central Asian history from the time of Chenghiz down to Baber's invasion will probably be of considerable assistance. Such will be found in the following pages.

CHAPTER IV.

The Mongols.

The Mongols were at first merely one tribe of a great confederacy; their name was probably extended to the whole when the prowess of the Imperial House which governed it gained the supremacy.* "The word itself is (according to Schmidt) derived from the word Mong, meaning brave, daring, bold." In the early Chinese records Mongols are described much like to what they are now, when met in their native wilds, dirty, wandering, uncivilized but much enduring. A favourite hero of their early traditions is *Kutulakhan*, and from the description of him we may easily learn what manner of men the Mongols deemed their beau ideal of a hero.† "*Kutulakhan's* voice is compared to the thunder in the mountains, his hands were strong like bear's paws, and with them he could break a man in two as easily as an arrow may be broken. He would lie naked near an immense brazier in the winter, heedless of the cinders and sparks that fell on his body, and, on awakening, would mistake the burns merely for the bites of insects. He ate a sheep a day, and drank immense quantities of Kermis (fermented mare's milk)." Such is the man the Mongols delighted to honour. Great strength, great endurance, great appetite; men of a race with such ideals may overrun the world. Powerful they are for destruction; construction is not in them or from them. Of such men the type is Chenghiz Khan, the Scourge of God. He took himself this name when he took Bokhara. We are told that on that occasion he collected the chief inhabitants in the Musalla, or place set apart for public prayer, and thus addressed them:‡ "You have committed great faults, and the chiefs and leaders of the people

* Howorth's Mongols, Vol. I, p. 27. † Howorth's Mongols, Vol. I, pp. 43, 44.
‡ Howorth's Mongols, Vol. I, p. 78.

are the greatest criminals. If you need any proof of my statement, I answer that I am the Scourge of God. If you were not great criminals, God would not have permitted me to have thus punished you?" In Howorth's learned book on the Mongols* we read "Justice, tolerance, discipline, virtues that make up the modern ideal of a state, were taught and practised at his (Chenghizes Court." Of the two first certainly we can find but little trace. If by tolerance is simply meant the non-molesting of people for religious beliefs, the statement may be true. The Mongol, as far as he was not a pure believer in Sorcery, had a general belief that all religions had more or less of truth and more or less of non-truth in them, a belief I may say not peculiar to Akbar or Herbert Spencer, and although he killed on little or no provocation, he did not have a special inquisition for religious heterodoxy; still, persons accused of being evil agencies, had but short shrift given them. But he was absolutely careless of human life. The accounts of the campaigns of Chenghiz Khan and his generals in Persia on the West and in China in the East are perhaps the most revolting chapters in the world's history, whether we consider the hecatombs, which sober historians reckon at millions, whole cities and provinces being totally depopulated, or the treachery by which so many of the Mongol victories were brought about. Absolute contempt for human life; absolute disregard for the most solemn promises—such were the ruling marks of the Mongol in his day of conquest. And such we may say, though vastly softened by the civilising and humanising influences of Muhammedanism are two of the most prominent features in the history of the great Moghuls of India. The story told concerning Akbar by one of his Panegyrists, how, coming out earlier than usual from his bedroom, he found the lamps unlit and the lamp-lighter asleep, and how he ordered him to be dashed over the battlements, shows that the Mongol spirit was still alive in him. And the treacherous conduct of Aurangzeb towards his brother Murad was as

* Howorth's Mongols, Vol. I, p. 49.

gross as anything recorded in the annals of the heathen Mongols of the thirteenth century. Heathen they were and of a very low type, *viz.*, that known commonly as Shamanism. Idols are worshipped in this form of religion, but its special feature is the influence of Shamans. These persons differ not very greatly from African rain-doctors. They profess to practise astrology, to have communication with demons and familiars. Their main power lies in the fact that they pretend to have information from the unseen world, as to those who are about to cause misfortune in the future. Such persons, I need hardly say, become doomed. Mongol history is full of executions and murders arising out of these announcements of the Shamans.

Cruelty, disregard of plighted promise or word, such were the two greatest features of the Mongol or Tartar character, features which have never been eradicated in their past history and which seem not likely to be eradicated in the future. But while speaking of the evil side of their character, it is but fair to look also at their good side. Great endurance, cheerfulness under the most adverse circumstances, such are certainly virtues of no common order, and such the Mongols undoubtedly possessed and possess. Many of these virtues are indeed swept away when they settle for generations in a country with a warm and enervating climate such as India.

In order to keep the Turk and Mongol stock vigorous and virile, it is necessary to have continually new immigrants from the North-West—so when Akbar stopped this stream, he sapped the very roots of Moghul dominion. Within a hundred years of Akbar's death his great Empire was fast hastening to decay. The Mahratta freebooter was overrunning the land, and instead of having to meet him, troops, who had learnt endurance in the temperate lands of Afghanistan and Turkistan, the Great Moghul could only put against him the local Muhammedan of inferior physique and comparatively small moral force or the Rajput of Rajasthan, who, brave and chivalrous as he is, has not, owing to a variety of causes, the making of a first class soldier. Neither of these were any match for the Mahratta; the large limbed son

of Central Asia would have been. And when Nadir Shah later on invaded India, there were again no soldiers fit to meet him. Such, too, will be the fate of British India, if she ever cease to put her main trust in her white soldiers, born and bred in far away England, in a cold clime, far away from all the enervation caused by India. Brave and active as our native soldier is, still after all, England's hold and rule in India must ultimately in the last resort depend upon the ever-changing legions that come from England herself. Deolali is the cradle, I once saw it stated by some eminent medical authority of the British Indian Empire. And so Afghanistan and still more Turkistan were really the cradles of the Moghul power.

CHAPTER V.

CHENGHIZ KHAN'S original name was Temujin, a word which means the best iron or steel. He was born in 1155 A.D., far off in the North-East at a place Dilun Boldak near the river Onan. It is said that he had a piece of clotted blood in his fist when born and a man of blood he was from early youth till death. He was brought up in the severe school of adversity. His father died when he was thirteen, and from that time he had to struggle with the other hordes of the desert who knew not him or his father's house. Once he was taken prisoner. To keep him prisoner he was fastened to the cangue, the instrument of torture used by the Chinese, consisting of two boards which are fastened to the shoulders, and when joined together round the neck form an effectual barrier to desertion. He escaped, while his captors were feasting, and in order to conceal himself had to hide in a pond with only his nostrils out of the water. There he was discovered by one of his pursuers. Instead of surrendering him, this pursuer took pity on him and sent him away to his own people. On another occasion he is said to have defeated a hostile horde, and, on obtaining a victory, to have boiled many of his prisoners alive in seventy caldrons. This story, Howorth doubts, but it is entirely in consonance with Chenghiz's

character. On a third occasion he was left for dead on the field of battle. One of his followers "melted the snow with some hot stones and bathed him with it so as to free his throat from the blood," and another kept him warm during the long winter night with his own cloak. Again and again we read of him in the greatest distress. But finally he conquered all the neighbouring hordes, and in the year 1203 at a Kuriltai or general assembly of the hordes was proclaimed Khan. Three years later, at another Kuriltai, he was acclaimed by a Shaman as Chenghiz Khan, the very mighty Lord. His first foreign conquests were in the direction of China; then having conquered the Nomad tribes to the West, who had not yet submitted to his sovereignty, he fell on the Muhammedan countries of Western Asia. The countries now known as Afghanistan, Beluchistan, Persia (save some of the North-West) and Turkistan were then ruled by Muhammad, the ruler of Khwarism. In ten years this Sultanate was levelled to the dust, and the countries composing it so devastated, that never again have they been what they formerly were. According to Howorth, Muhammad provoked the war. If so he was terribly punished, for in it not only he himself, but almost every male member of his family perished. A letter of Chenghiz Khan's is preserved in which he wrote, "Commanders, elders, commonalty know that God has given me the Empire of the earth from the East to the West, whoever submits shall be spared, but those who resist, shall be destroyed with their wives, children and dependents." Whether the former promise was fulfilled is doubtful; that the latter threat was, is certain. Bokhara, Samarkand, Balkh, Nishapur, Herat, all the most famous towns of the Muhammedan East, towns that had flourished, while our European towns, North of the Alps were mostly in primitive infancy, were given over to plunder and destruction. Muhammedan historians give the number of the killed in millions. Occasionally artizans were spared; young persons, too, were sometimes preserved for the harem, but otherwise the slaughter was complete. At Bokhara, Chenghiz Khan himself climbed the steps of the great Mosque and gave the signal to plunder by declaring

in a loud voice : " The hay is cut, give your horses fodder." At another place seventy thousand men, women and children were said to have been tied together and shot by the Mongol soldiers with arrows. On a suspicion that precious stones might be swallowed and so concealed, Chenghiz Khan gave an order to disembowel the prisoners. This war reached as far as the banks of the Indus. There the Mongols attacked Jelaluddin, one of the last of the royal house of Khwarism, who, when he saw that his troops were being cut to pieces and that he had no further hope of victory, mounted a fresh horse, took off his cuirass and jumped with the horse into the river, which was flowing twenty feet below. He was not followed and safely reached the other side. A part of the Mongol army subsequently crossed the river and laid siege to Multan. But the heat was too great for these sons of the steppes and back they went again to the higher lands on the West of the Indus. After conquering Khwarism, Chenghiz Khan's hordes pushed further North and West, attacking the Russians in what is now known as Southern Russia. At the same time they vigorously carried on war with the kingdoms of China. Everywhere were Chenghiz's arms successful. When after years of foreign warfare he came back at length to his own native fastnesses, the greater part of Asia and a part of Europe had become subject to him. I may well quote here Howorth's reflections on the grand Kuriltai, which Chenghiz Khan held at his home-coming :

* " What a wonderful gathering that must have been. We are much impressed in reading the history of the Middle Ages, with the effect of the Crusades, which brought the parochial minded chivalry of Western Europe into contrast with the land of so much gorgeous romance as the East, and gave an impetus to thought and action, and an enlargement of view that had more than aught else to do perhaps with the social and mental resolution of the revival of learning. But what were the Crusades as an experience to the journey of Chenghiz and his troops ?

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 99.

Born and accustomed only to the dreary and steppe lands of the Gobi desert, and its girdle of pine-covered mountains, their triumphant march led them through the very garden of Asia, among its most refined and cultured inhabitants and through its most prosperous cities. Every step must have been a new chapter of romance, such as boys in England find in the Arabian Nights, and the vast caravans of treasure that they brought back with them must have been objects of intense wonder to the wives and daughters of the returning warriors, as the tales they told of their adventures must have seemed like the romances of ballad makers, rather than the truthful experiences of ingenuous soldiers. Nor were the crowds of captives, chiefly artizans, a less important, if a somewhat less picturesque, element in the cavalcade. With them there went to the further East all the knowledge and craft possessed by the Muhammedans, and if we find the period of Mongol supremacy in China to be a period of revival in art and manufacture, a period of great literary energy, we must not forget what a number of names in the administration of that period are Persian and Turkish, and how the rubbing together of two widely different civilisations, which have crystallised apart, such as those of China and Persia, necessarily leads to a fresh period of ideas and discoveries, being the most potent example of the law, condensed for us in the venerable proverb, that "iron sharpeneth iron."

On the 18th of August, 1227 A. D., Chenghiz Khan, at the age of 60, died. Stories of his dying words are various. One told by a Chinese historian runs thus :—* "Be you a fruitful friend to my widow and to my two orphan sons, and be ever true to them without fear. The precious jade-stone has no crust and the polished dagger no dirt upon it. The body that is born is not immortal. It goes hence without home or resting place. This keep in everlasting memory ; the glory of an action is that it should be complete. Firm and unbending is the heart of the man who keeps his plighted word. Be not guided by the wishes

* Howorth, Vol I, p. 104.

of others, so you will gain the goodwill of many." Sound words and true, but having a strange ring when we remember who the utterer of them was. Another report * also given by Howorth is that he collected his children and dependents about his bed and gave them serious counsel. "He bade his children cling together; we are told he repeated to them the old parable of the bundle of sticks. In his case, however, arrows took the place of sticks. He added another fable not so well known in the West, namely, that of the snakes with several heads. One night during an impending frost it set out to seek shelter in a hole, but on the way the heads began to quarrel and fight with one another, and the result was that it was frozen to death; not so the snake with one head and many tails; this hid everything away safely in the hole and was saved." The second report is much more characteristic of the man than the first. He died away from Mongol land and his body had to be carried there. Not even with his death, did grim death lose his prey. The corpse was secretly carried to Mongolia, and to prevent the news of his death spreading, its escort killed every one they met. Strains from the chants of the mourners are given by Howorth:

* Whilom thou didst stoop like a falcon; a rumbling wagon now bundles thee off, O my King.

Circling in pride like an eagle whilom thou did'st lead us, O my King.

But now thou hast stumbled and fallen like an unbroken colt, O my King.

For six and sixty years thou hast brought thy people peace and joy and now dost thou leave them, O my King.

The place of the burial is called by Rashid, God's Hill. Certain it is that he was buried on the Altai steeps with a mound, not a mausoleum, for the Mongol was not a Muhammedan, over him. There the greatest destroyer, probably in the whole world's history, at last lay still. He had found the Mongols, a number of wandering and dislocated hordes, and had formed them into a nation. He had deeply implanted into the minds of his followers, the supreme virtue of obedience. The Empire which he founded, survived him for a hundred years and more,

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 106

and then split up. After his death, it became, as will shortly be seen, even wider than in his time; but the essence of stability was not there, and little by little the Mongol Empire of Mid Asia became disintegrated and went the way of all such kingdoms to pieces, not, however, without bearing offspring more or less remote. From it sprang up the present Empire of China; from it too, in a certain sense, may be said to be derived the "Padshahate" of the Great Moghuls at Delhi.

CHAPTER VI.

CHENGHIZ's, and indeed the whole Mongol nation's favourite amusement, when not at war, was hunting. The great winter hunt was more like a campaign than anything else. An enormous tract of country was enclosed; little by little the circle contracted, and into the inmost circle thus formed, first the Khan, his wives, for they lived the same outdoor life as their husband, and his immediate attendants entered; then, when they were tired of killing, the great chiefs had their turn, and finally the circle was open for all.

The laws of Chenghiz were, as may well be fancied, of the Draconian order. Death was the ordinary punishment; torture to extort confessions was common. In his code, I quote again Howorth,* "he preserved many curious superstitious notions that the popular creed had sanctified. Thus it was forbidden to make water in a stream or on ashes, to have props or legs to a house, a table or a chair, to wash the hands in running water. It was forbidden to wash clothes, which were to be used till worn out; cooking and domestic vessels were not to be washed, and this custom still prevails, according to Pallas, among the Kalmuks, who always clean these articles with dried grass or a piece of felt. Carpino tells us, they would not touch fire with a knife or take their food with the same implement out of a kettle, or strike with a hatchet near a fire. To break these rules was to

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 111.

bring misfortune, or to cause it to thunder in the popular eyes, and, no doubt, as D'Ohsson remarks, the origin of the prohibition was originally a fear of offending the elements. In killing an animal it must be laid on its back, an incision made in its belly, and the heart torn out or squeezed with the hand; this practice is still that of the Kalmuks, who attribute its introduction to Chenghiz Khan. Those who killed animals in the Muhammedan way must themselves be killed. One story more of Chenghiz and I have done with him.* "What is the greatest happiness in life," he one day asked his generals. One answered for the rest: "To go a hunting in a spring morning, mounted on a beautiful horse, carrying on your hand a good falcon and watching it seize its foes." "No," said Chenghiz, "the greatest pleasure is to vanquish your enemies, to chase them before you, to rob them of their wealth, to see those dear to them bathed in tears, to ride their horses, to clasp to your bosom their wives and daughters."

CHAPTER VII.

The Mongols after Chenghiz's Death.

The vast kingdom created by Chenghiz Khan held together for a considerable time after his death. After an interregnum of two years, in 1229 A. D., his son Ogotai became Khan of the Mongols, and with his succession carnage began to abate. Still the Mongols are willing to shed seas of blood, but blood becomes less the corner-stone of Mongol policy. An Empire, says one of his advisers, to Ogotai, may be conquered on horseback; it cannot be governed so. The wars with China, which ended in the Mongols becoming the rulers of that country, went on steadily throughout Ogotai's and his successors' reigns. The Mongols only stopped when the sea stopped their further progress. They did indeed attempt to conquer Japan but never succeeded in lodging themselves there. The details of these wars are beyond my

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 110.

province, which is not to write a history of the Mongols in Central and Eastern Asia, but rather to show, what manner of men they were, after whom the Delhi Empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth century took its name, and to some extent its caste. A story we read of Ogotai and his brother Tulin reminds one of a story subsequently to be told concerning Baber and his eldest son Humayun. Ogotai fell ill. His brother Tulin approached the bed and raising aloft the wooden vessel in which the Shamans had placed their consecrated liquor, thus addressed his God: "Great God, Eternal being, if thou punishest according to man's guilt, thou knowest that I am more culpable than he; I have killed more people in war, I have harried more women and children, I have made more tears to flow from fathers and mothers; if thou summonest one of thy children because of his beauty or merit, I still claim to be more worthy; take me in the place of Ogotai and make his disease pass to me." Ogotai recovered, Tulin died. According to a custom common among certain races, Tulin's name, which meant mirror, was no more pronounced after his death. In the West, Jelaluddin, whom I have mentioned as fleeing to India on the death of Chenghiz, recovered the greatest part of his father's dominions. Not only did he do so, but he invaded Georgia and Circassia in one direction, and in another threatened the Caliph at Baghdad. A true Turcoman, he and his troops alike lived on plunder. But his career was short. Defeated in battle by the Mongols, he was slain in a Kurdish encampment where he had taken refuge, by a Kurd whose brothers he had killed in one of his wars. With him the Khwarism Shahs came to an end. The Mongols overran the lands he had held for a short time, and although there was not a human harvest waiting for them similar to that which Chenghiz had reaped, they did their work, thoroughly enough. "The people," * says Howorth, "seemed stupified." The historian Ibn-ul-athir gives some examples of the decrepitude to which they were reduced; a Mongol entered a populous village, and

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 131.

proceeded to kill the inhabitants one after another without any one raising a hand. Another wished to kill a man and having no weapon with him, told him to lie down while he went for a sword, with this he returned and killed the man, who in the meantime had not moved. An officer with twenty-seven men met a Mongol, who was insolent, he ordered them to kill him; they said they were too few, and he had actually to kill him himself; having done which, all immediately fled.

It was during the Khanate of Ogotai that the Mongols advanced into Russia. In December 1240 they took by storm Kief, the Russian Mother of Cities. Pressing further West, crossing the Carpathians, they overran modern Hungary, storming Buda Pesth and advancing well into Modern Austria. They were foiled by the walls of Spalatro on the Adriatic and do not seem to have advanced far beyond Hungary in the North. In the South they overran a great part of the Balkhan Peninsula. How systematic the destruction effected by these hordes was, we are told by Roger, a Canon of Varardin. Where they intended to winter they saved everything; when they left they destroyed everything, and on their homeward march they traversed the forests to spy out and destroy everything that had escaped the first invasion; the captives were fed on the entrails, the feet and the heads of the cattle, which served for food to the Tartars.

One story too characteristic of the Mongol character to be passed over, and I have done with Ogotai. "It was reported among the Uirats that the Khakan (Ogotai) intended to marry their daughters to men of other tribes and they immediately affianced them. When Ogotai heard of this, he ordered all the girls above seven years old of that tribe and those who had been married during the year, to be ranged in a row to the number of 4,000. Having picked out the fairest for himself and his officers and sent others to the public brothels, he ordered all the rest to be scrambled for by his soldiers, and this before their fathers, husbands and brothers, and it is said no one murmured.

Ogotai died towards the close of 1241. For four years and more the Empire remained without a Supreme Ruler. During

this time the widow of Ogotai acted as Regent. At last in 1246 a Kuriltai was held at which Kuyuk Khan, the eldest son of the Regent, was chosen Khakan, though this was not according to the wishes of Ogotai, who had desired that one of his grandsons should succeed him. At this Kuriltai were two Monks, sent from the Pope and the Council of Lyons to convert the Mongols, and it is from one of them, that we have an account of what happened during it. The Mongols were great drinkers, and though the morning was given up to business, the afternoon was spent in drinking. Kuyuk Khan, according to the usual custom in such cases amongst the Mongols, originally affected coyness, but at last consented to become the Khakan, upon which he and his wife were placed in a piece of black felt, raised aloft and declared Rulers. On this being done * "the members of the assembly prostrated themselves nine times" and "the vast multitude outside at the same time beat their foreheads to the ground. Kuyuk and his followers then went and did obeisance three times to the sun.

Mongol conquests in Syria and Asia Minor proceeded apace. Chief after Chief submitted. It is curious to find that in the Sultan of Iconium's army, fighting against the Mongols, there were a body of Christian Mercenaries. This was at a time not more than sixty years after Saladin's and Richard Cœur de Lion's wars and before Louis the IX's Crusade to Tunis.

These men in 1247 A. D. reached the Camp of Baichu, the Mongol General in Syria. Their ignorance of the name of the Khakan and their unwillingness to worship his Lieutenant, as well as the high claims they put forward for the Pope, irritated Baichu and they narrowly escaped being executed. Still from all we read, at one time it seemed to hang in the balance as to whether the Mongols would become Christians or Musulmans. The reasons, which made the greater part of them Muhammedans and not Christians, were chiefly the degraded state of the Christians

* Howorth, Vol. I., p. 163.

with whom they had most to do, *i.e.*, the Nestorians; their greater proximity to Muhammedan races and the greater civilisation which they found amongst these; and lastly, the fact that Islam allows, and Christianity does not, polygamy. It is well known that this last reason is a great hindrance to the spread of Christianity in Africa. General Gordon is said to have remarked that if he could have allowed his converts a plurality of wives, he would have been able to christianise that continent.

The Monks' letters were addressed not to the Khakan by name, but simply to the Chief of the Mongols. This was one of the reasons that irritated Baichu: "Does not your Master know," it was asked, "that the Khan is the son of God, that Baichu Niyan is his Lieutenant; their names ought to have been known everywhere." The Mongol General's followers then ordered the Members of the Mission to honour Baichu with three genuflections. This they refused to do, saying, they were prepared to pay him the same honour that they showed their own Master. The retort was sharp,* "You who adore wood and stones ought not to refuse to adore Baichu Niyan, to whom the Khakan, the son of God, has ordered that the same honours are to be paid as to himself." At length the Mission was sent back with two letters, one from the Khakan to Baichu, called by the Mongols the letter of God, and the other from Baichu to the Pope. Both bear quoting —The first runs thus: "By the order of the living God, Chenghiz Khan, the son of God, the gentle and venerable. The Great God is lord over everything and on earth Chenghiz Khan† is alone Master. We would have this known in all our provinces, obedient or otherwise. It behoves thee, therefore, O Baiothuir (meaning probably Baichu) to let it be known by them that this is the will of the living God. And let this be known everywhere where an Envoy can go, that whoever disobeys you shall be driven out, and his land shall be laid waste. And I declare to you that whoever does not hear this my command must be deaf, and whoever

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 168.

† Chenghiz was dead at the time but his successors were supposed to be incarnate with his spirit.

sees it and does not carry it out must be halt. This, my order, will reach everyone, wise and ignorant. Whosoever, therefore, hears and neglects to obey it shall be destroyed, lost, and killed. Make this known therefore O Baiothuir, and whoever obeys, wishing to save his house, and undertakes to serve us, shall be saved and treated honourably; and whoever shall oppose it, do according to your will and destroy him." The second letter ran thus: "By order of the divine Khan, Baichu Niyan sends these words: Pope, do you know that your Envoys have been to us and have brought us your letters? Your Envoys have spoken big words. We know not whether this was by your orders or at their instance. In your letters it is written, 'You have slaughtered and destroyed.' But this is the command of God, who rules the earth to us, 'whoever hears my words shall retain his land, water, and patrimony; but those who disobey are destroyed and lost.' We accordingly send you this message. If you, Pope wish to retain your patrimony, you must come to us in person, and present yourself before the master of the world. If you disobey, we know not what will happen; God knows. Before you come it will be well to send messengers to say whether you mean to come or no, and whether you mean to be friendly or otherwise."

Confusion followed on the death of Kuyuk Khan. The final result being that Mangu Khan, who was not of the house of Ogotai, became the Khakan, 1251-1252. Before he had become Khakan, Transoxiana had recovered to a large extent from the ruin in which Chenghiz Khan had plunged it, but Persia was still in a most desolate state. We read that whereas in China and Transoxiana the poorest could pay a gold piece as tribute, in Persia the minimum had to be reduced to one dinar and the maximum to seven. From one of the Monks already mentioned Rubruquis, who was present at the Kuriltai where Kuyuk Khan was elected, we learn much about Mangu's Court. At their first meeting he and his colleague found the Khakan with his wife and daughter sitting in a tent, hung with golden tissue and warmed by a chafing dish, in which were burnt thorns and roots of wormwood, the fire being made of dried dung. Drink was

handed round, of which the Monks according to Rubruquis' story partook in moderation, but both the interpreter and the Khakan got drunk. Mangu was, however, gracious to the Monks, and gave them liberty to remain two months and go to the Mongol Chief city Karakorum. This city, of which the site is uncertain, was at this time very flourishing. Probably its site is not far from the northern boundary of the Gobi Desert. Mangu and his family, like Chenghiz, before them, were eclectics in religion. They took part equally in Christian (of the Nestorian form), Muhammedan and Buddhist services, in order to make sure of the blessings promised by each of these forms of religion. Howorth describes the Christian service as then performed at Mongol head-quarters.* "On one feast day Mangu's chief wife with her children entered the Nestorian Chapel, kissed the right hand of the Saints, and then gave her right hand to be kissed according to the fashion of the Nestorians. Mangu was also present, and with his spouse sat down on a gilt throne before the altar, and made Rubruquis and his companion sing; they chanted the *Veni Sancte Spiritus.* The Emperor soon after returned, but his wife stayed behind and gave presents to the Christians. Terasine, Wine and Kurmis were then brought in; she took a cup, knelt down, demanded a blessing, and while she drank the priests chanted; they then drank until they were drunk. Thus they passed the day, and towards the evening the Empress was drunk like the rest. She went home in a carriage escorted by the priests, who continued chanting and howling." Further on, he says, "The Nestorian notion of Christian worship was to place a cross on a piece of new silk on an elevated place, and then to prostrate before it."

It was in this reign that the famous sect of the Ismailiyas or Assassins was practically exterminated. This sect took its name from Ismail, whom they, originally a sub-sect of the Shiahs, considered as the seventh Imam. They became quite a power in the East by the completeness of their secret organization and their implicit obedience to their Chief. Readers of Sir Walter

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 190.

Scott's Talisman will remember them as described in that book. Their head-quarters were in Kohistan in the North of Persia. Khulagu, or Hulagu as he is commonly known, Mangu's relation and general, swept through this country, destroying the forts and massacring the inhabitants, and his work was complete. From that day onwards the Assassins ceased to be a power in Eastern history.

Hulagu then marched against Baghdad. For almost five centuries this had been the capital of the Caliphs, the successors of the Prophet. Their power was not what it had been in the palmy early days of Muhammedanism, when the larger part of the Eastern world paid obedience to the spiritual head of Islam. The days of Harun Al Rashid had gone and gone for ever. But still the Caliphate was a great spiritual power. We know how even in these latter days, the claim of the Sultan of Constantinople to be the Caliph has much force in the Mussulman world; still more effective was then the claim of one, whom no orthodox Sunni could deny was really the Caliph, by strict apostolic succession from Abu Bakr, the First Caliph himself. But great as was his spiritual power the sword of the flesh was lamentably wanting to him. Many of the Muhammedan princes had already succumbed to the Mongols; others were far distant. Muhammedan Sectaries, and Muhammedanism has as many sects as Protestantism, were all hostile to him, and when the day of trial came, he was forced to meet it with forces from the country, where the Caliph's temporary power (to use the present day expression concerning the Papacy) still existed, *i.e.*, the country immediately round Baghdad. When to this, it is added that there was treachery amongst his advisers, it can easily be seen how ill-prepared was the Caliph to meet the all-victorious Mongols. On they came like a flood, the Syrian army joining with that of Hulagu. On his way the latter hung an astrologer who was rash enough to predict that if the Mongols advanced on a certain day the sun would not rise, and that there would be on that day great convulsions of nature. Our prophet had not learnt the lesson, which our present day would-be astrologers and

the like have learnt so well, the blessedness of being indefinite. On the other hand, he was definite, definite to a day, but unfortunately he was wrong, and to be wrong in such a matter could lead a prophet with a race like the Mongols, to only one place, the gallows. Divination from burnt sheep bones suited this people much better than predictions from star gazing; both methods being equally efficacious or inefficacious. After some fighting, not of a very serious nature, the Mongols stormed the Eastern walls of the city. Thereupon deputations came to Hulagu; the first being led by two of the Caliph's advisers. Hulagu insisted that their forces should come with them. When they came, he had them all put to death. Then out poured the Caliph and his principal grandees to the conqueror's camp. They were followed by a large multitude of people, who were massacred on issuing from the gates. The Mongols walked in and the sack of Baghdad commenced. Since its choice as the capital of the Caliphate, no foreign enemy had passed its gates. Its warehouses were full of merchandise from the four corners of heaven. Its treasuries were full of gold and precious stones. On everything the wild Mongols laid their hands. Rome, when sacked by Genseric, had already had an enemy several times plundering it, before the last and complete sack came. On Baghdad the fulness of wrath came in one day. Eight hundred thousand persons are said to have perished. Whether the Caliph was starved to death, or whether he was tied up and then rolled and trodden to death is uncertain. Certain it is that he did not survive the fate of the city, and that with his death, the apostolic succession of orthodox Muhammedan successors to the Prophet came to an end. On the Friday following the sack, the preacher for the day in place of the prayer for the Caliph uttered these words:— "Praise be to God, who has destroyed by death great beings and has condemned to destruction the inhabitants of this place;" and then ended:* "O, my God, help us in our calamity, unto which Islam and its children have not felt their equal. But we come

† Howorth, Vol. I, p. 202.

from God and to God we return." He, who could utter on such an occasion such a prayer, showed that the root of Islam, the submission to God's will at all times, everywhere, was with him.

Hulagu had an Observatory built at Baghdad. His Astronomer, Vasiruddin, called the astronomical tables of China as well as the Western tables to his assistance. In ancient days when Rome and Athens were not, Babylon is supposed by some of our savants to have been the centre from which civilisation, or at least the art of making calculations concerning the heavens, stretched to China on the one hand, and Egypt on the other. Now, again, at Baghdad, near ancient Babylon, from China in the East as well as from the Ptolemaic tables of the West, do we find aid for the oldest and most universal of the sciences.

After Baghdad came the towns of Syria. The Mongols had protected the Shiahs in Mesopotamia, and during the plunder of Baghdad especial troops were sent to protect the tomb of Ali at Kerbela. Howorth records at length the letters written at the Khakan's orders to the Sunni ruler of Syria Nasir, and his reply. Both are as scornful as letters can well be. Both are studded with phrases from the Koran. The Mongol repeats the old story of Chenghiz, that God had created the Mongols in his wrath, that when once in motion they were neither touched by tears nor moved by entreaty, and ends up with the ominous phrase "Safety to him who follows the path of safety." The Sunni's reply was, as far as words go, crushing. He begins by saying that the Mongol confesses his greatest infamy, that he is a devil and not a man. He continues by laughing the threats to scorn. "Obedience to God implies resistance to you. If we kill you, our duty will be done. If we are killed, paradise awaits us. Here is our answer; the commandment of God shall be fulfilled; do not hasten it. The prince Nasir Seifud Diniln Yagmur, Aba Uddin el Kaimeri and the other chiefs and warriors of Syria, they do not refuse the challenge; they await impatiently the neighing of the horses and the charge of the warriors, for they have sworn to meet you. We await you, God grant the victory to whom he will. We shall not scatter diamond words, but we say what

comes to our lips, and we excuse him who stammers." Brave words; but the Mongols were too strong for their opponents. They poured into Asia Minor and Syria, took many of the chief towns, including Aleppo and Damascus, massacring as usual as they went along, and it was only the death of the Khakan Mangu, which turned Hulagu eastwards, that kept him from Jerusalem itself. One of his Generals, Kitubuka, who commanded at Damascus after it was taken, was a Christian, and we read "that he very much favoured the Christians, who began to be very independent in their manners towards their recent Masters, the Mussulmans. They publicly drank wine even inthe great fast of Ramzan,* they sprinkled with holy water the dress of the Muhammedans and doors of their Mosques; they made the followers of the prophet stoop to the cross in their processions; they sang psalms in the street, and proclaimed that their faith was the only true faith, and even destroyed mosques and minarets in the neighbourhood of their churches.

Mangu the Khakan, whose death took Hulagu eastwards, died during a Chinese campaign. The religion of the Mongols was still mainly Shamanism. Many Nestorians were in his Court, but they were little better than the Shamans, as regards superstitious practices.

Howorth has stories concerning the Shamans, of which I extract one. "One of the princesses having received a rich present of furs, these were purified by fire. According to custom the Shamans had retained a portion. One of the waiting women thought they had kept too much and told her mistress, who was very wrath with them. Some time after, the latter fell ill and the Shamans† revenged themselves by declaring she had been bewitched by the maid who denounced the theft. She was seized and subjected to torture for seven days. Meanwhile the princess died. The accused maid then begged they would kill her too, saying she wished to follow her mistress to whom she had done no wrong; but the Khakan would not consent, and she was set at

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 210. † Howorth, Vol. I, p. 215.

liberty. The Shamans then chose another victim. They accused the nurse of her child, of having killed the princess. The nurse was the wife of one of the principal Nestorian preachers. Put to torture, she confessed that she had never done her any harm. She was nevertheless condemned to death and executed. Sometime after one of Mangu's wives having given birth to a son, the Shamans who drew his horoscope predicted a long life for him and that he would become a great and prosperous Monarch. The prince dying in a few days, his mother summoned and severely reproached the Shamans. They excused themselves by laying the blame on the magical arts of the nurse who had been put to death. The princess was furious and wished to wreak her vengeance on her children. She had left a son and a daughter, and orders were given that the former should be killed by a man and the latter by a woman. Mangu was much annoyed by these executions; he ordered his wife to be imprisoned for seven days, and then banished from the court for a month. He also ordered that the man should be executed, who had killed the boy, and that his head should be suspended about the neck of the woman who had killed the girl. She was then beaten with hot firebrands and put to death.

Mangu's death was unexpected. The Mongols did not elect a Khan till after the death of the reigning sovereign, and hence in a vast Empire such as there had become, there was every opportunity for confusion to raise itself during an interregnum. Arikbuka, who was at Karakorum, called a Kuriltai to meet there. To this Khubilai Khan, the royal prince who was commanding in China, declined to come. He held a Kuriltai in China and had himself elected Khakan. With him begins a new epoch in Asiatic History. The breaking up of the Mongol power then began. One section of the Mongol princes became Emperors of China; the others little by little sank to the position of Central Asian Princelets. Khubilai Khan is Coleridge's Kubla Khan, he who did a stately pleasure dome decree—

> Where Alph, the river ran,
> By caverns measureless to man
> Down to a sunless sea.

He commenced his reign by a war against Arikbuka. Him, after a long struggle he subdued, but he had to meet another rival in Kaidu, the representative of the house of Ogotai. The latter held his own in the Highlands of Central Asia. Khubilai evidently preferred his new Empire of China to the barren home of his ancestors. Both the rivals reigned long. Mangu had died about 1260. Khubilai survived to 1294, Kaidu to 1301. Christians were still prominent in Kaidu's camp, and we find the cross as the standard of one of his chiefs in one of his campaigns. The chroniclers of Kaidu mention the kettledrums, afterwards so well-known in India as the token of the presence of royalty. Marco Polo describes Mongol warfare : *" The practice of the Tartars in going to battle is to take each a bow and sixty arrows ; of these thirty are with small points for long shots and following up an enemy, while the other thirty are heavy with broad heads, which they shoot at close quarters, and with which they inflict great gashes on the face and arms and cut the enemy's bow strings and commit great havoc. This every one is ordered to attend to, and when they have shot away their arrows, they take to their swords and maces and lances, which they also ply stoutly." A story concerning Kaidu's daughter is too characteristic of the Mongols, as they were, when still the children of the steppes, to be passed over here. This daughter was famous for her prowess in wrestling. She sent her challenges far and wide, offering to marry any man who could throw her, but, on the other hand, the man, if thrown by her, would have to pay her a hundred horses. In this way she had won ten thousand horses. A prince renowned at his home for his skill in wrestling, came from a far country to try his fortune. The woman's parents tried to persuade her to allow herself to be thrown ; this, however, she would not do. The wrestling match came off—she clad in a jerkin of sarcenet, and he in one of sandal—and the result was the defeat of the prince, who was thrown on his back on the palace pavement after a prolonged struggle, and his return unmarried to his home.

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 176.

In Khubilai's reign the Mongol Court became officially Buddhist. The Buddhist priests were named by the Mongols, Lamas, and one of them called Mati Dhwadsha was made by Khubilai, the Grand Lama, and also the Temporal Sovereign of Thibet. Thus originated the Grand Dalai Lama. Mati Dhwadhsha abovementioned constructed a new alphabet for the Mongols, who had hitherto used the Chinese or Uighar language.

Khubilai's conquests extended as far as Yunan and Burmah. Long before the Mongols came to India, they had conquered the greater part of Burmah. Howorth tells us that they were stopped at Prome by the want of provisions. The Khakan Khubilai caused many expeditions to be made by sea, but success was by no means uniform. Against the Japanese he was totally unsuccessful It was during his reign that Marco Polo travelled in the East, and it is from this traveller that a very large part of our information concerning the Khakan is derived. The races in the Eastern part of the Empire, mainly the Chinese, were disgusted by the number of Western Christians, Muhammedans and Buddhists put over them, and much discontent, sometimes bursting out into open rebellion, was the result. As to Khubilai's Empire, Howorth says :* "Khubilai was the Sovereign of the largest Empire that was ever controlled by one man. China, Corea, Thibet, Tonkin, Cochin China. a great portion of India beyond the Ganges, the Turkish and Siberian realms from the Eastern Sea to the Dnieper, obeyed his commands; and although the chiefs of the Hordes of Jagatai and Ogotai refused to acknowledge him, the Ilkhans of Persia (whose Empire bordered on the Mediterranean) and the Greek Empire were his feudatories; in fact, D'Ohsson says, nearly all Asia was subject to him. This was in different ways. Thus, while the great Khanates of the Ilkhan and the Golden Horde owed him allegiance, probably sent him large quantities of riches as tribute, and while their chiefs received investiture at his hands, their internal government was controlled entirely by their special rulers. At first they were an integral part of the Empire, then they became substantially

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 252.

independent rulers, owning only a mediate allegiance to the Central Imperial authority. This was no doubt immense so long as the Mongol Imperial family was united; but with the rebellions of Arikbuka and Kaidu, and with the removal of the capital from Karakorum to China, it became weaker, until in a few reigns later it snapped altogether. The Supreme Khan had immediate authority only in Mongolia and China."

The post *service* of the Mongols, which was subsequently introduced by them into India, is described by Marco Polo: *"Pekin was the focus where there met manyr oads; along each of these roads, at intervals of from five and twenty to thirty miles, were situated post-houses or hostelries, splendidly furnished, called by the Mongols Yambs. To some of these hostelries were attached four hundred horses, 200 in use and 200 not. At others there were fewer. Where the messengers had to pass through roadless tracts, where neither house nor hostel existed, still there the station houses had been established, except that the intervals were greater, and the day's journey was fixed at thirty-five to forty-five, instead of twenty-five to thirty miles. Three hundred thousand horses were employed in this service and there were one thousand stations. There were two kinds of State messengers, the foot and horse couriers; both wore broad belts with bells attached, and were stationed at intervals of three miles. The bells sounded the courier's arrival, and prepared a fresh man to take his place, and Polo says, that by this means news travelled a ten days' journey in a day and a night, and the Khakan could eat fruit that had only been gathered twenty-four hours before, at a distance of ten days' journey. The horse couriers by the same system of relief did from 400 to 500 miles a day. The postmen takes a horse from those at the station, which were standing ready, saddled, all fresh and in wind, and mounts and goes at full speed, as hard as he can ride, and when those at the next post hear the bells, they get ready another horse and a man, equipped in the same way, and he takes over the letter or whatever it be, and is off full speed to the third station, where again a fresh horse

* Howorth, Vol. I, p. 257.

is found all ready, and so the despatch speeds along from post to post, always at full gallop, with regular changes of horses, and the speed at which they go is marvellous. By night, however, they cannot go so fast as by day, because they have to be accompanied by footmen with torches, who could not keep up with them at full speed. These men are highly prized, and in order to keep up they have to bind their stomachs, chests and heads with strong bands, and each of them carried with him a gerfalcon tablet, in sign that he is bound on urgent express, so that if his horse breaks down on the road, or he has any other mishap, he can appropriate that of any traveller he meets, and make him dismount."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Mongols in the West.

While the imperial title was given to the Mongol ruler who reigned in Karakorum and then in China, almost totally independent Mongols ruled in the West. After the capture of Baghdad, Hulagu's descendants, known as the Ilkans, rose to supreme power in Persia; the rule of the Mongol conquerors of Hungary and Russia, the chief tribe of which was known as the Golden Horde, extended over most of modern European Russia and round the Caspian Sea, while the race of Chagatai reigned in what is nowadays known as Turkistan. The Mongols proper in the most restricted sense of the term were only a small part of the hordes which had taken possession of Western Asia. Howorth suggests that the general name of Tartar might be given to them. But Tartar or Mongol, as I have already explained, the race is clearly enough marked out. The Nomad of Central and Eastern Asia is distinct from all the races to be found on every side of his home. Howorth discourses on his position in Russia thus:

* "In order to realise the kind of authority which Batu exercised, we must think of him not as the Sovereign of a settled

* Howorth, Vol. II, p. 66.

community, ruling over cities and agriculturists with fixed settlements, but as the leader of a great Nomadic host, whose herds required large prairie lands to feed them, and who moved about as the exigencies of these herds demanded. We still have in miniature among the Kalmuks and Kazaks, conditions which answer to this description. In the greater part of Russia proper in the thirteenth century, almost all the country, in fact, which had been occupied and settled by Slavic settlers whose Kernel is known to us as Great Russia was in every way unsuited to the life of a Nomadic race. For the mφst part covered with wood and morass, the towns were mere clearances in the forest, and were separated from one another by wide stretches of forest and bog. Such land as had been reclaimed was under the plough and was not grass land. This offered few temptations to invaders to settle in, especially as the climate was harsh and severe. This great Kernel of Central Russia, however, was bounded on the South and South-East by a very different kind of land. There were huge flat plains covered with juicy grasses. The excellence of the pastures of these plains is best proved by their being the home of the famous herd of Ukrane cattle, the famous fat tailed sheep and the hardy Cossack horses. There were no interminable forests or quagmires, no boundaries or limits. The steppes or pampas were in effect a very paradise for a Nomadic race and have, from the earliest recorded history, been the homes of tribes of Scyths, Huns, Turks and Kalmuks. Here then the Tartar conquerors settled down. The vast prairies which stretch from the Carpathians to the Balkash Sea are threaded by some famous rivers, and it was on these rivers that the main encampments of the Tartars were fixed. Batu himself settled down on the Volga, which waters probably the finest pasture lands in the world, while other and subordinate hordes were settled on the Yaikor Ural, the Don and Dnieper. As was the universal habit in these districts, there was an annual migration up and down the river In summer the camp was fixed on the North, and as winter came on there was a general movement further South. Except in winter there was probably little actual halting. During that season

a more permanent camp was formed, which as civilisation overtook the Tartars, took the form of a small city. The camp was gathered round the chief's golden tent or Sira Ordu, whence the whole encampment and from it the whole race took its name of the Golden Horde. This golden tent was styled a Serai, palace, and what was once but a magnificent Yurt, became the nucleus of a considerable town, and is well known as Serai, the capital of the Golden Horde."

"It was fortunate indeed for Russia, and probably also for Europe, that the Tartars thus planted themselves without its borders and did not, as in Persia and China, actually occupy the land itself and become incorporated with the natives. As Karanzin says, if they had done so, Russia might still have been a Mongol possession. In other places a fertile soil and a genial climate won the Nomads eventually to settled habits. The hard conditions of life in Russia repelled the Invaders, who remained perforce, Nomads occupying only the grass steppes where the Comans formerly dwelt, and gradually becoming enervated in these border districts still occupied at a much later day not by Slaves but by Finnic races." As far as the remarks of Howorth may be applied to India, we will see how Captive India conquered its conquerors and how the final result of the Moghul conquests of Baber and Akbar was not India becoming a Mongol possession, so much as the Mongol being changed and converted into an Indian. The hand was subdued to the dye in which it worked.

The Mongol in his native home, as I have already said, was a Shamanist. In the East he fell under the influence of the Lamas and Confucius. In the West Muhammedanism made *him his own*. The change, as all great religious changes are, was slow. Though the race soon became Muhammedan in name, the old magic and devil worship died hard. With other races Muhammedanism has had a binding influence. With the Mongols it helped to disintegrate the over-sized Empire, hastening the breaking up of Chenghiz Khan's Empire. Probably nothing would have held this together. It had grown fast; its military exploits had far outstripped its administrative capacities.

Such Empires, as ancient history teaches, never last long. Assyria, Chaldea, Persia are all instances of rapid growth and decay. Even Alexander's Empire, though the road had long been prepared by the Hellenism of at least a part of the nearer East, did not long survive entire, and the Eastern portion, where Hellenism had taken no firm hold previous to the Macedonian conquests, speedily reverted to its former state and retained but the slightest marks of Grecian conquest and influence. It is only in cases such as ancient Rome, and I may say Modern Britain where conquest has never far outstripped administration that Empires abide. Bereke of the Golden Horde was the first Muhammedan Mongol Ruler. Howorth as to this says :—*" I believe that although the Mongol Empire must inevitably have fallen to pieces from its size and unwieldiness, yet the immediate cause of its collapse was the conversion of the Western Khanates to Muhammedanism, and the consequent raising of a very powerful barrier between them and the Eastern Supreme authorities." And again he writes : † " This conversion (to Islam) was a very serious matter in other ways. It commenced a process of disintegration in consequence of which it was found impossible presently to keep up even a formal obedience to the Great Khan. Islam is too proud a faith to yoke itself at the Chariot wheels of peaceful Buddha or the Fetishism of the Shamans." As to the civilising power of Muhammedanism, Howorth goes on to say, " Muhammedanism is further, as we know in numberless other cases, a great civilising power among semi-barbarous races. We shall find that from this date, however well the Tartars of the Russian steppes kept up their renown for martial virtue, that they ceased to be the ferocious creatures they were but a generation before, when they desolated Khorassan, while they became by accepting the law of the Prophet an important factor in the world of nations who were bound together by the freemasonry of the Crescent." These words seem written in irony when we read of the massacres directed or permitted by Taimur a good

* Howorth, Vol. II, p. 105. † Howorth, Vol. II, p. 125.

century and more after Bereke's conversion. Taimur was an orthodox Muhammedan, but between him and Chenghiz Khan there is not much to choose as far as cruelty and disregard for human life are concerned.

By 1315 A. D. Uzbeg Khan, whose name was given to one of the Turkish clans, was able to say in a letter to the Sultan of Egypt that in his Empire, *i.e.*, that of the Golden Horde, there were only now Muhammedans. In Persia the Ilkhan Ghazan, o whom more hereafter, had formally declared himself a Muhammedan in 1295 A. D. A curious custom is mentioned by the Chinese traveller Ibn Batuta which shows that the Mongols did not forget their old habits of governing by the lash even when they became Muhammedans. *" When any one absented himself from the place in the Mosque at Khwarism, he was beaten by the priest in the presence of the congregation and fined 5 dinars which went towards the repair of the mosque. Each mosque was provided with a whip fo the purpose."

In the middle of the fourteenth century the Black Plague twice devastated the Mongol territories. Howorth suggests it may have come from China. He says : " It seems to have originated in China where 13,000,000 people became its victims. Thence it spread over the Mongol world. The country on both sides of the Caspian was devastated by it, Khwarism, Turkestan, Serai all fell under its influence. The Armenians, Abkhazians, and Circassians, the Jews, the Genoese and the Venetian Colonists in the Krim were decimated. It also swept over Greece, Syria and Egypt. The Genoese ships carried it to Italy, France, England and Germany. Fifty thousand people, says Karamzin, were buried in one cemetery in London. At Paris the distracted people wished to exterminate the Jews, whom they charged with having introduced it. In 1349 A. D. it appeared in Scandinavia and thence passed to Pskof and Novigorod One-third of the inhabitants of Pskof perished. Each priest found as many as thirty bodies daily for burial in his church, and the service for

the dead was performed for them *en masse*. The cemeteries were full, the bodies were buried beyond the walls and in the forests. The contagion was so dangerous that even the rich could not find nurses. Children fled from their parents, and the despairing people devoted their wealth to the service of religion. Winter put an end to the plague. It seems to have been a violent dysentery or cholera, and was marked by an effusion of blood, after which the victims lived two or three days. Its effects among the Nomads were doubtless terrible. Such diseases when they attack strong hearty people, for the most part flesh-eaters, are singularly fatal, and the history of the spread of such scourges as small-pox, measles, &c., in Siberia and North America is a grim story."* And again in the same year 1365 "Russia was again ravaged by plague. This terrible scourge is described in graphic terms by the Annalists." "The victims were suddenly struck," says the Chronicler, "as with a knife at the breast, at the shoulder-blade, or between the shoulders; a devouring fire consumed the entrails, blood flowed at the mouth, a burning fever succeeded by a shivering cold, tumours appeared in the neck, the hips, under the arms, or behind the shoulder-blade. The issue was always the same inevitable death, swift but terrible. Out of each hundred persons but ten remained well. The dead were buried seven or eight together in the same grave, and whole houses were stripped of their inhabitants."

The Golden Horde, from whose other name Kipchak is derived the modern Cossacks met its decisive overthrow at the hands of Taimur. In a fight in 1391 at Kandurcha, far North in the land of the Bulghurs, they were totally overthrown. Of this fight, Howorth writes :† "This battle and its consequences were a fatal blow to the Golden Horde from which it never recovered. Its population was so terribly decimated and its towns so ravaged and destroyed, that its glory may be fairly said to have passed away. We, who are accustomed to a temperate clime and a rich soil, cannot realize the terrible task of building up a stable and

* Howorth, Vol. II, p. 205. † Part II, Div. I, 247.

prosperous civilisation, where climate and soil are both harsh, where the desert and its robber tribes are close at hand, where the inhabitants are only half reclaimed Nomads themselves and where civilisation is not a home grown plant, but an exotic which grows only under constant care and with prosperous surroundings. Such was the civilisation on the Volga, which the terrible vengeance of Taimur trod under. We cannot say that he was not provoked, but it makes us shudder to think, how under such conditions the ruin and misery of large nations may be entirely at the mercy of intemperate and wayward rulers, whose one false step may sweep away what centuries has accumulated. Taimur negatively may be deemed one of the founders of Modern Russian, for he destroyed the great power which might have held Russia in check.

On the ruin of the Golden Horde, the Uzbegs became the dominant power in the lands, East of the Caspian, known now by the name of Turkestan. Khwarism, better known as Khiva, was their main centre. They had much to do, as we shall see hereafter with Baber, the first of the Great Moghuls, whose deadly enemies they were. Though Muhammedans for a long period, we find that they still retained old Shaman superstitions, such as incantations for rain. To prove that belief in Islam did not change their savage nature, I would point, though this is beyond the strict limits of this book to the story of their taking Meshed in A. D. 1505. This capture, which marked the culminating point of Uzbeg rule, shows to us how after all Uzbegs, though they had come under the harmonising influence of Muhammedanism, were still real descendants of the old Mongols, though it is but fair to say that religious bigotry joined itself to pure savagery, the Uzbegs being Sunnis, and Meshed a holy city of the Shiahs. So it is probable that these Sunni conquerors, like the Spaniards in Flanders, thought they were doing God's service when they dashed the little ones against stones. Let us quote Howorth : * "When Abdoolmomin's troops entered the town they

* Howorth, Vol. II, p 735

found that the inhabitants of both sexes, and the numerous learned men, had all congregated in the outer court of the shrine of Imam Riza, in the hope that they might be protected there by the sanctity of the spot ; but the Uzbegs in their blind fury cut down and destroyed every thing that came in their way, even the supposed descendants of Imam Riza, who were clinging to the holy shrine of their ancestor. were there pitilessly massacred. It is said that Abdoolmomin himself looked on from the Court of Mir Ali Sher, whilst his soldiers were murdering children and old men, common people and learned philosphers indiscriminately, and that even the shrieks of a thousand victims and their dying groans were unavailing to move his pity. Not only the public streets but the holiest precincts of the mosque and the shrine itself were deluged with blood, and in the general sack of the town the grave of the Alim suffered more than most parts, costly offerings of pious pilgrims which had been accumulating there for three centuries, falling into the hands of conquerors. Amongst them were enormous massive gold and silver candelabra, whole suits of armour in precious metals, splendid single stones, buttons, studs and other articles of jewellery richly ornamented, and most valuable of all, the magnificent library with its celebrated copies of the Koran, marvels of the art of caligraphy, the gift of former Sultans ; all these were dragged away, torn up and completely destroyed. The vengeance of the Sunni conquerors did not even spare the very dead, for the ashes of Tahmasp were torn from their grave by the side of Imam Riza's, and scattered to the winds with curses and execrations "

The Georgian Chroniclers describe the Mongols who invaded their land under Ogotai, one of the sons of the Chenghiz in the most graphic terms. We quote two descriptions of them from Guiragos, a Georgian Chronicler.* " The swarms of Mongols who overran his country, he compares, to flights of locusts and drops of rain. He who had a sword, hid it for fear that if found upon him he might be pitilessly killed ; children were broken to death upon the stones, and young maidens cruelly ravished. The

* Howorth, Vol. III, p. 25

Tartars had a hideous aspect and bowels without pity; they were insensible to mother's tears or to the white hairs of age, and they sped to carnage as to a wedding orgy. Everywhere were unburied corpses, the service of the church ceased, while the people preferred the night to the day. The advance of the invaders was insatiable, and what they could not take away they destroyed." And again, Howorth says, *"Guiragos describes the Mongols as having horrible and repulsive countenances, and as being (except in the case of a few who had a little) without beards. On the upper lip and chin were a few hairs, which might be counted. They had small piercing eyes, and shrill piercing voice. They were long lived. So long as they had abundant food, they ate and drank gluttonously, and when this was scarce, they as easily supported hunger. They fed on the flesh of all kinds of animals pure and impure, but preferred that of the horse. They cut the animals into quarters, and then boiled or roasted them without salt. They cut them into small pieces, and having dipped them in saltwater, ate them. Some knelt while eating, like camels, while others sat down. Masters and servants had equal shares at their feasts. In drinking kurmis or wine, a large vessel was produced, out of which a man took out a portion in a cup, and threw some of it towards the sky and towards the four points of the compass. After having tasted the libation, the cup-bearer handed some of it to the principal chiefs, who to prevent themselves being poisoned, made the person who carried it taste any meat or drink he offered. They had as many wives as they pleased and punished adultery mercilessly with death. They punished theft in the same way. Guiragos says, they had no religion and no religious ceremonies, although they had name of God on their lips on all occasions. They often declared that their ruler was the equal of God, who had taken heaven himself, while he had given the earth to the Khakan, and to prove it, declared that Chenghiz Khan had not been produced in the ordinary way, but that a ray of light, coming from some invisible place, had entered by the roof into the house of his mother and had said, " 'Conceive and thou shalt have a son who will be ruler

* Howorth, Vol. III, p 34.

of this world.' When a Tartar died or was put to death, they carried his corpse about with them for several days, since they believed that a demon entered the body, and made a number of statements, they then burnt it. Sometimes also they buried it in a deep grave, with its arms and apparel, and the gold and silver belonging to the deceased. If he was a chief, they also buried some of his male and female slaves, that they might wait on him, and also some horses, since they believed there were great fights in the other world. In order to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, they slit open the belly of his horse, and took out all the flesh through the opening. They then burnt the bones and entrails, and afterwards sewed up the skin as if its body was whole, and thrust a pole through it, which came out of its mouth. This memorial they hung upon a tree or in an elevated situation. Their women, he says, were magicians, and cast their incantations everywhere. It was only after a decision by their magicians that they undertook a march."

It was of the Mongols about this time that we get a pleasing story. When the Byzantine Emperor sent them an Embassy with a large present of grand clothes and precious stones, they asked if clothes would prevent their wearers from growing weary at their work and if the jewels would ward off thunderbolts. In 1242, bands of Mongols entered into India and sacked Lahore. *"We are told that the feudal chief Malik Ikhtiyar Uddin Karakush was unprepared with either stores, provisions, or war materials, while the citizens were disunited. Most of them were traders, and had been in Khorasan and Turkistan, where they had obtained safe conducts, and were careless about the fate of the Malik Karakush. Meanwhile, the latter's feudal chief, Sultan Muizz Uddin Bahram Shah of Delhi, was at issue with his Turk and Ghori troops, and there was therefore some delay in sending assistance from Delhi. The Mongols proceeded to invest Lahore, and bombarded and destroyed its walls with a number of *mangonels*. The Malik Karakush feeling that from the disaffection and disunion inside it would not be possible to

* Howorth, Vol. III, p. 69.

defend the city, made a sortie at night with his men, and cut his way through. Some of the harem and of his retinue got separated from him in the darkness, and in the tumult dismounted and hid away among the ruins and the graves. The following day the Mongols captured the place, conflicts arose in all directions. Two bands of Muhammedans in that disaster girded up their lives like their waists, and firmly grasped the sword, and up to the latest moment that a single pulsation remained in their dear bodies, and they could move, they continued to wield the sword and to send Mongols to hell, until the time when their bodies, after fighting gallantly for a long period against the infidels, attained the felicity of martrydom, while among the latter a vast number perished, and we are told that there was not a person among them who did not bear the wounds of arrow, sword or *nawak* (some projectile is here meant)."* Two of the principal of these heroes were named Ak Sunkar, the Seneschal of Lahore, and Din Dar Mahommed, the Amir-i-Akhur of Lahore. The former is said to have had a single combat with the Mongol Commander, Tair, in which both were killed, "one company to heaven; one to the flaming fire." "The capture of Lahore was followed by the usual massacre of the old and useless, and the taking capture of the young. Kutbuddin Hasan, the Ghori who had been sent with an army from Delhi to the relief of the place, arrived too late, and after the Mongols, who had suffered great losses, retired. When he learnt of their retreat Karakush retraced his steps towards the river Biah, where in his flight he had hidden some treasure. This he recovered, and then went on to Lahore, where he put to death the Hindu Khokhars and the Gabrs who were committing destruction there."

In 1246 A.D. the Mongols marched against Uchh, which place, however, they did not succeed in taking. We read "the place was bravely defended by its inhabitants. The breach was at length forced by a famous Baghatur, who led a storming party in the third watch, when the men on guard were reposing, and appeared on the top of the breach. The people inside, however,

* Howorth, Vol III, p. 70.

had prepared a great pit into which they had poured much clay and water, so that it was in fact a quagmire more than a spear's length in depth. Into this the storming party stumbled, whereupon the defenders raised a shout, brought out torches and armed themselves, and the attacking party withdrew. Their leader, however, had been suffocated in the slough. The Mongols outside thought he had been captured, and offered to retire if he was surrendered." They eventually returned without taking the place, a very unusual circumstance with them. This was on hearing that an army was advancing from Delhi to the rescue. Howorth sums up the position by saying, "the Mongols virtually remained masters of the country West of the Biah whence they seem to have made periodical raids into India.

The earliest coin of the Mongols with Arabic inscriptions, says Mr. Stanley Poole, and probably their earliest with any inscription is that struck at Tiflis in 642 A. D.

The victorious career of the Mongols was checked by the Mameluk princes of Egypt. In September 1260 the Mongols under Kitubuka were totally routed by the Mameluk Sultan Kuttuz. Before war broke out Hulagu, the General of the Mongols in the West, had despatched to the Egyptian Ruler a letter written in the regular Mongol fashion. "You have heard, how we have conquered a vast Empire, how we have purified the earth of the disorders which have tainted it, and have slaughtered the greater part of its inhabitants. It is for you to fly and for us to pursue, and whether will you fly, and by what road shall you escape us? Our horses are very swift, our arrows sharp, our swords like thunderbolts, our hearts as hard as the mountains, our soldiers numerous as the sand. Fortresses will not detain us, nor arms stop us. Your prayers to heaven against us will not avail. You enrich yourselves by vile means and break the most solemn promises. Revolt and disobedience are in your midst. And you are about to receive a terrible punishment for your pride. Those who have been unjust are going to learn their fate. Those who dare to make war upon us are about to repent. Those who seek our protection will alone be safe. If you will submit to our orders

and the conditions we impose, you shall share our fortune. If you resist you will perish. Do not commit suicide. He who has been warned ought to be on his guard. You are persuaded we are infidels, whilst we look upon you as criminals, and God, whose orders are irrevocable and whose decrees are perfectly just, has caused us to triumph over you. Your strongest forces are in our eyes mere small bands of men, and your most distinguished people we contemn. Your kings we despise. Do not delay long. Hasten to reply to us before war lights its fires and throws its sparks upon you, or you will find no refuge from the terrible catastrophe that will overwhelm you, and you will make a desert of your country. We mean well by our warning. It is to arouse you from your slumber. At present you are the only enemy against whom we have to march. May safety be with us and you and all those who follow the divine commands, who fear the issue of death, and submit to the orders of the supreme king. Say to Egypt,* "Hulagu is about to come, escorted by naked swords and sharp blades. He is going to humiliate the great ones of this land, and will send the children to join the old."

"The victory of the Egyptians was a turning point in the world's history. It was the first time that the Mongols had been fairly and completely beaten, and although the defeat was probably largely due to the smallness of their numbers, Kitubuka having apparently only 10,000 men with him, it was none the less decisive. It stopped the tide of Mongol aggression and probably saved Egypt, and in saving Egypt, saved the last refuge where the arts of the Mussalman world had taken shelter, where under the famous Mameluk dynasties, and under the new line of Khalifs, it blossomed over in wonderful luxuriance, and not only made Cairo the Cynosure of Eastern cities, but was eventually the means of distributing culture to the Golden Horde, and very largely also to the Empire of the Ilkhans itself."† Besides throwing back the Mongols in their conquering and

* Howorth, Vol. III, p. 165. † Howorth, Vol. III, p. 169.

devastating career, the successful stand of the Egyptians led to the centre of Muhammedan life being transferred from Baghdad to Egypt.

In 1261 Bibers, who supplanted and succeeded Kuttuz in the Mameluk Sultanate, caused the uncle of the late Khalif to be enthroned as Caliph at Cairo, he taking from the new Khalif a grant of his kingdom. The glory of Islam left Baghdad never to return, and though the Cairene Khalifs were of little political importance in Muhammedan history (coins indeed in India are to be found stamped with their names in the latter half of the thirteenth century) still from this time we may date Cairo's being the intellectual head of Islam, a position it has ever lost. In all parts of the Muhammedan world the theological training given at the El Azhar Mosque at Cairo is considered the highest and most complete.

In one of the conflicts between Mongol and Egyptian we read of a prisoner being put to death by being wrapped in a fresh sheep skin, fastened tight around him and in this position exposed to the sun. This truly characteristic Mongol punishment was afterwards in common use amongst the Moghuls in India. Howorth tells us that Hulagu had a curious diplomatic intercourse with the rulers of Delhi. According to the Minhaj-i-Seraj, the Malik Nasir Uddin Muhammad, son of Hasan the Karluk, who held authority about Bamian, had sent secret Envoys to Ulugh Khan-i-Azam, the Sultan of Delhi's most valiant feudatory, for a marriage between their families. The latter sent a Khilji Turk named Hajib-i-Ajal (the most worthy chamberlain) Jamal Uddin with his answer. *En route*, he was detained at Multan and closely questioned by the Malik Iz Uddin Balban (who was then ruling with semi-independent power there) about his journey and the Mongol Shahnah or intendants. He was allowed to go on, and reached Bamian safely, but the news of his arrival having reached the Mongol Shahnah there, the Malik Nasir Uddin was forced to send him on to Hulagu to Irak and Azerbaijan, and in addition wrote letters and sent presents by him in the name of Ulugh Khan-i-Azam. They reached

Hulagu's presence at Tabriz. Hajib Ali was well received, and his letters were translated from Persian to Mongol. It was customary in writing letters to the inferior Mongol and other dependent chiefs to alter the usual designation of Khan, borne by many of the grandees of India and Sinde, to Malik, since Khan was among the Mongols a title of supreme dignity. We are told by our courtly author "that Hulagu having noticed this alteration in the case of Ulugh Khan-i-Azam, enjoined that in his case the title Khan should be used; a very improbable story. When Hajib returned, Hulagu ordered the Shahnah of Bamian who was a Mussulman to accompany him, and we are again told a questionable story, *viz.*, that Hulagu sent orders to the Mongol troops under Sali Noyan, saying, 'If the hoof of a horse of your troops shall have entered the dominion of the Sultan of Sultans, Nasir Uddin Muhammad Shah (God perpetuate his reign), the command unto you is that all four feet of such horse be lopped off.' When Hulagu's Envoys arrived near the capital orders were given that they should be detained at Bamtah. After a while they were conducted to the capital to be presented to the Sultan, and a magnificent review of troops was held, when, according to Minhaj-i-Seraj, 200,000 foot soldiers and 50,000 horses, fully equipped, were present, and the imposing army was paraded in twenty lines of men one behind another, like the avenue of a pleasure garden with the branches entwined, placed shoulder to shoulder, row after row." This spectacle was doubtless arranged to create a feeling of respect on the part of the Mongols when they heard of it. There is a curious bit of local colour in the remark that some of the emissaries were thrown from their horses when the trumpeting elephants charged. The Envoys were conducted to the capital and received with the honours due to distinguished guests. They were conducted to the Kasri Sabz (Green Castle). The castle was decorated with various kinds of carpets and cushions, and a great number of rare articles of gold and silver, with two canopies, one red and the other black, adorned with costly jewels over the throne. The distinguished Maliks, Amirs, and Lords, &c., and the handsome young Turk

slaves, with golden girdles, stood round about. On the throne sat the Sultan, "as a sun from the fourth heaven, with Ulugh Khan-i-Azam in attendance as a shining moon, kneeling upon the knee of veneration and reverence, the Maliks in rows like unto revolving planets, and the Turks in their gold gem-studded girdles like unto stars innumerable." The Minhaj-i-Seraj unfortunately closes narrative at this point, and we do not know what was the issue of the Embassy.

Christians and Muhammedans held very different opinions as to Hulagu. In the latter's eyes he was the cursed Chief of the Tartars ; in the former he was the great and pious King. Like other Kings he was much influenced in these matters by one of his wives.

Mongol administration was much like Ottoman administration at the present day. Civil and military powers were strictly divided, and the direction of the finances was separated from the other functions of State.

The first of the Ilkhans of Persia who became a Muhammedan was Sultan Ahmed Khan, A.D. 1282. As in the case of the Golden Horde further north, little by little the Mongol conquerors became Muhammedans, but until Taimur's final overthrow of them, they retained much of their original superstitions.

One of the Mongol Ilkhans of Persia, Gaikathu Khan, in 1294 A.D., issued paper money. His money affairs had got into absolute confusion, and some ingenious person had suggested to him that by issuing unlimited paper money he should be able to set them right. The money was called chao, after the paper money issued in China. To keep the paper from being altered, death was threatened to the defacer, his wives and children and confiscation of goods. The use of a metal currency was prohibited. The result we give in the words of Howorth : *"The first issue of chao took place at Tabriz on the 12th of September 1294, and it was accompanied by an edict declaring that whoever refused to accept, whoever bought or sold other money than

* Howorth, Vol. III, p. 371.

chao, and whoever did not take his coin to the mint to be exchanged for paper money, was to be punished by death. This was shouted in the street by criers. The fear of punishment caused the order to be obeyed for eight days, but afterwards the shops and markets were deserted. Nothing was to be bought in the city and people began to leave. The famished citizens rushed to the neighbouring gardens to get fruit. Gaikathu one day traversed the bazaar and noticing that the shops were empty, enquired the reason why. The Vazir said that a great Magistrate was dead, and that it was customary with the citizens to leave the bazaar on such occasions. The authorities and troops had great difficulty in restraining the crowd. The Mussulmans met in their mosques on the Friday and broke out into lamentations. Presently open murmurs were heard, and imprecations were flung at Iz Uddin Muzaffer and the other authors of the innovation, and eventually attempts were made on the lives of the Vazir and his people. As at the time of the issuing of the French assignats or the American green backs prices became quite arbitrary, and Wassaf tells us how the sellers of a horse not worth more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ gold pieces asked for 750 in paper. In the panic that ensued the Vazir's brother, Kutb Uddin, was compelled to sanction the purchase of provisions with coin and several were put to death for having taken part in the disturbances. The Vazir presently saw the ill-effects of his experiment. An ordinance permitting the use of coin in buying provisions was issued, and coin appeared again in other commercial affairs. Finally, the chao itself was suppressed amidst universal joy. For two months commercial dealings had virtually ceased, the shops were empty, the roads were deserted by traders, while artists and poets emulated each other in constructing lampoons and gibes at the expense of the paper money and its authors. Much money was wasted also in building the various mints, that at Shiraz having cost five golden tumans. In that town no one could sell a sheet of paper without the permission of the bank. Prince Ghazan did not wish the chao to be introduced into his appanage, and when the official arrived

with the paper and material for its fabrication, he sent word to the Ilkhan that the air in that part of the country, especially in Mazenderan, was so damp that arms and armour could not resist it for twelve months, while a piece of paper when used became as fragile as a spider's web, and he ordered it all to be burnt."

Ghazan Khan, the last of the great Ilkhans of Persia, became a Muhammedan, while still a competitor to the throne in A. D. 1295. Formerly he had been a Buddhist. With him Mongol Persia may be said to have become Muhammedan. Before the Persians, the conquered race were Mussulmans, and the Mongols the conquerors, Buddhists or Pagans. With his succession came orders to destroy Buddhist monasteries and Christian churches. The Christians who had hitherto been the favourites of the Pagan Ilkhans and had not used their privileges over-wisely now experienced considerable persecution. Save in a very few remote parts Christianity completely disappeared in Persia. That Ghazan's Muhammedanism was not unmixed with considerable Paganism is clear from a story told in Howorth : *"Those who were present fastened various ribbons to the tree around which the Amirs danced. Ghazan was told that a former Mongol Chief, whose bravery had become proverbial, on his way to attack the Merekits dismounted before a tree on this route, and prayed to God fervently, undertaking if he were victorious to return and deck the tree with beautiful pieces of cloth. He did so return, and decked out the tree, while he and his troops danced round it, after returning thanks to the Eternal. This story delighted Ghazan, who said that if his ancestors had not been pious people they would not have become great Kings, and he himself joined in the dance."

When Ghazan became a Muhammedan he definitely broke off his alliance with the Supreme Khan in the furthest East. Hitherto the Ilkhans had been merely feudatories of the Khakan of Mongolia and China. They now became quite independent,

* Howorth, Vol. III, p. 464.

and it is natural that the formulæ on the coins should accordingly be changed. On Ghazan's coins we find in Mongol characters the words, Teguiri Kuchunder Ghasanu Keguluksen. (By God's power Ghazan's coinage). In addition to this inscription there occur three characters which M. Terrien de la Coupine has shown to be in the Bashpa character, the first native form of character introduced among the Mongols, which was the invention of the Lama Bashpa, or Pakba, and was first introduced by Khubilai Khan in 1269. The three characters represent the words, 'Ma Kha son,' the first being a contraction for Mahmud, and the second and third forming the nearest approximation to Ghazan which the character was capable of representing. When the name occurs in Arabic letters it is written Ghazan Mahmud. Rashid-Uddin has reported many sayings of this wise King, some of which we may quote.* "He recommended his ministers and *yargujis* to beware of listening to the accusations brought against any governor or public officer. For it is possible, he said, that those complaining have been made to pay taxes which were not exacted previously, that they have lost some post, or have some other private grudge. In such cases it is better to consult public opinion, which is the best judge. Do the people like him or no? There are few functionaries who know how to conciliate the affections of the people, and who are inclined to justice. If an official has many good qualities and only a few faults, if, above all, he is not avaricious, if he be firm and loyal, it is not necessary to displace him."† "You wish," he one day said to his officers, "that I should let you pillage the Tajiks, but what will you do after you have destroyed the cattle and seeds of the labourer? If in such a case you should come to me asking for food, I would punish you. Remember, when you would strike or maltreat their women and children, how dear our own are to us, and that they are men like ourselves."

After Ghazan the Ilkhans had gradually decreased in power, their kingdom was split up in pieces, and within a very few years

* Howorth, Vol. III, p. 494.

† Howorth, Vol. III, p. 495.

Taimur, the second Chenghiz, put an end to them and with them to the Mongol rule of Persia. The Turkish domination over Persia, which started with him, lasted, however, barely a century. By the end of the fifteenth century Persia, after many centuries of foreign rule, was again governed by Native Kings.

CHAPTER IX.

The Mongols of the East in the Fourteenth Century.

Within a hundred years after the death of Khubilai the Mongol dynasty in China came to an end. Its history was one so common in Oriental countries. License, intrigue, debauchery at the court, treachery and injustice outside; the gradual enfeebling of the ruling steppes; add to this that the history of the first half of the fourteenth century is full of natural disasters, earthquakes, famines, plague, and we can easily see why the Empire had nothing of permanency in it. The same causes were powerful in disintegrating the Moghul rule in the eighteenth century in India, where the same results ensued. In China, however, there was no outside white race to snatch the reins of power. A Chinese dynasty again reigned in China, and in that immoveable land it seemed as if all traces of foreign influence had been obliterated. Beyond ruin the Mongols had left naught else behind.

To the Indian reader the number of Indian names in Chinese history such as Dharmapala, Ananda, Ayuchelitala, Maitilapal are interesting as showing how strong Buddhist influence had become. Indeed one of the chief Chinese complaints was that Buddha was so much more honoured than Confucius. To European readers the notices of Christianity during these latter Mongol days in China is probably the one interesting part of Howorth's narrative. John of Monte Corvino was appointed Archbishop of Khanbaligh or Pekin in 1307 A. D. For years before he had worked in the East. The Nestorians seem to have given him much trouble. This John seems to have been a man of much worth, and when he died in

in 1328 we are told that both Pagans and Christians followed him to the grave with demonstrations of the deepest grief and veneration.

Later in 1342 legates from the Pope reached the last of the Mongol Emperors of China. They brought with them horses whose great size seems to have been much admired by the Chinese, accustomed only to the small ponies of Mongolia. This Emperor treated the Christian legates most generously; indeed, in those days a Muhammedan had much more to fear at the Mongol Court than a Christian.

A ghastly story, in which a Mongol ruler of the latter part of the fourteenth century took a chief part, shows how fierce the passions of the Mongols still were. We are told this Khan was out hunting one day and killed some hares. As their blood trickled out on the snow he exclaimed, "Give me a wife with a face as white as this snow and cheeks as crimson as this blood." Thereupon Chuchai Dadshua Uirat told the Khan that his (the Khan's) sister-in-law "surpasses this by far." The ordinary Eastern consequence followed. The brother was killed and the sister-in-law had against her will to enter her brother-in-law's harem. On a subsequent visit of the Uirat to Court, she called him to her apartment, as she wished to show him every courtesy. There she handed him a drugged bowl of wine which he drank and became unconscious. Thereupon she dishevelled her hair, scratched herself in many places, raised a cry and told a servant to call the Khan. On his coming she accused the Uirat of having in a state of intoxication misused her and having reduced her to the state in which she was. The Uirat, who had recovered by this his senses, upon hearing this took to his horse. The Khan pursued; they fought; he shot at the Khakan and wounded his little finger, but was notwithstanding overpowered and killed. He was then flayed and his skin was taken home by the Khakan to show his wife. She was not satisfied with the sight only. "Let us try," she said, "how human hide tastes." Thereupon she licked the fat from the dripping skin, sucked the blood from the Khan's bruised finger, and said, "now I have

licked the blood of the cruel Khakan and the fat of his instigator Chuchia." I have long wished to avenge the death of my partner. If I, myself, now die, I shall be free again. Let me, Khakan, return speedily to my house. The Khan, infatuated with her beauty, was not even angry with her.

CHAPTER X.

Mongols of the Centre—Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century.

The Mongol dynasty in China ruled barely a hundred years, but within that time the Mongols, who had followed their rulers in their Eastern conquests, had given up the heathenism of their native land and had become good Buddhists. In Western Persia and in the countries round about Persia, the Mongols had become Mussulmans, and were living under conditions far different from those that rule in their native steppes whence Chenghiz Khan had called them forth to conquer. But those of the race who had remained in Central Asia were for hundreds of years much what they had been before, true Nomads, pasturing enormous flocks, despising agriculture and crowded towns. The division of the Central Khanate whose first ruler was Chagatai, a son of Chenghiz, into a Western and Eastern Khanate, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Western being constituted of Mawara-an-Naher with its numerous towns and its far spread agriculture, and the Eastern being the North-Western part of the country now known as Chinese Turkestan, cut off, roughly speaking, the Mongols of the West, who although originally wanderers had through inter-marriage and other reasons become practically one with the races of Western Asia whom they had conquered and the wandering Mongols of the East. The country lying by the side of the Thian Shan Mountains, North of Kashgaria, was par excellence Moghulistan, but from the civilization of China in the East to that of Khorasan and Persia on the West in every place where plentiful pasture was to be found, was also to be found the wandering Mongol. For a long time he remained true not only to his old life but to his religion; little by little, however, external

faiths conquered him. In the far East he became a Buddhist; elsewhere a Muhammedan. His Muhammedanism was in some respects peculiar; nowhere in Islam did the Khwajah, the Pir, the saint as we would call him, rise to the same influence as in Central Asia, where he was often as much a ruler and a physician as an expounder of the law of Islam.

The Western Khanate soon came to an end, Amir Taimur, the mighty Tamerlane, causing it to cease in the latter half of the fourteenth century, but in the East the Khans were still recognized as the heads of the Mongol race for centuries after the death of Taimur. These rulers had not the absolute powers, which Mussulman rulers in the East everywhere exercised. The condition of their subjects forbade this. A people that consisted of Nomad tribes with no definite territorial limits could not be kept under subjection as a race of agriculturalists, such as have from a very early time inhabited the more fertile part of India. In fact the real power over the wandering families that constituted the Eastern Khanate was exercised, not by the Khan at all, but by the Dughlat Amirs. The Dughlats were an older race than the Moghuls in these regions, being however ethnically related, and being in direct touch with the people themselves.

How great the powers of some of these Amirs were, may be gathered from the two special privileges granted by Tughluk Taimur Khan to Amir Bulaj. This man's ancestor had been granted, so Mirza Haidar says, the following seven privileges by Chenghiz Khan:—(1) Tabl (or the drum). (2) Alam (or the Standard), the former being called in Turki "nakara," the latter "tumantugh." (3) Two of his servants might wear the "Kushuntugh"—"Kushuntugh" is synonymous with "chapartugh." (4) He might wear the Kur (quiver) in the councils of the Khan, though it is a custom among the Mongols that no one but the Khan might carrry his quiver in his hand. (5) Certain privileges in connection with the Khan's hunt. (6) He was to be an Amir over all the Mongols, and in the "firmans" his name was to be entered as "Sirdar of the Ulus of Mongols." (7) In the presence of the Khan, the other Amirs were to sit a bow's length further

than he from the Khan. These privileges were mainly ceremonial though they doubtless, and particularly the two last, meant real power. The two new privileges are described as follows :—

'The first of the new privileges was, that he should have the power of dismissing or appointing Amirs of Kushuns (that is, Amirs who had one thousand followers) without applying to, or consulting with the Khan ; and the second was as follows : Bulaji and his descendants should be permitted to commit nine crimes without being tried. On committing the tenth offence, the trial should be conducted under the following conditions :—The accused should sit upon a white two-year-old horse ; under the hoofs of the horse, nine folds of white felt should be placed—as a token of respect—and he should in that position address the Khan, while the Khan should speak to him from an elevation. When the interrogatory and investigation had been conducted in this fashion, if the offence should be a mortal one, and the other nine crimes should also be proved against him, two Amirs should stand by and watch him while his veins were opened and all his blood was drawn from his body. Thus he should perish. Then the two Amirs, wailing and lamenting, should carry his body out.'

The Historian of Moghulistan is Mirza Haidar, a close relation of Babar. This history has been translated into English by the late Mr. Ney Elias whose introduction to the same is of the greatest value to the student. Mr. Elias travelled much in this land of the Mongols and is able to give local colouring where otherwise interest in Mirza Haidar's book would evaporate. Much of the latter's work, the Tarikh-i-Rashidi, is of a tiresome nature and no one save a specialist can be interested in the names and doings of a number of obscure Khans who one after the other were supposed to rule over the Moghuls of this land of Moghulistan (or Jateh as it is sometimes called). But Mirza Haidar's work has much more colour in it than most Muhammedan histories of the time, and parts of it can be read with pleasure by all. Take for instance this story. 'The last of the sons was called Shaikh Jamal-ud-din, an austere man, who dwelt in Katak.'

On a certain Friday, after the prayers, he preached to the people and said: "I have already on many occasions preached to you and given you good counsel, but no one of you has listened to me. It has now been revealed to me that God has sent down a great calamity on this town. A Divine ordinance permits me to escape and save myself from this disaster. This is the last sermon I shall preach to you. I take my leave of you, and remind you that our next meeting will be on the day of resurrection."

"Having said this,* the Shaikh came down from the pulpit. The Muazzin (crier to prayer) followed him and begged that he might be allowed to accompany him. The Shaikh said he might do so. When they had journeyed three farsakhs they halted, and the Muazzin asked permission to return to the town to attend to some business, saying, he would come back again immediately. As he was passing the mosque he said to himself: 'For the last time, I will just go and call out the evening prayer.' So he ascended the minaret and called the evening prayer As he was doing so, he noticed that something was raining down from the sky; it was like snow, but dry. He finished his 'call,' and then stood praying for a while. Then he descended, but found that the door of the minaret was blocked, and he could not get out. So he again ascended and, looking round, discovered that it was raining sand, and to such a degree that the whole town was covered; after a little while he noticed that the ground was rising, and at last, only a part of the minaret was left free. So, with fear and trembling, he threw himself from the tower on to the sand; and at midnight he rejoined the Shaikh, and told him his story. The Shaikh immediately set out on his road, saying: 'It is better to keep at a distance from the wrath of God.' They fled in great haste; and that city is, to this day, buried in sand. Sometimes a wind comes, and lays bare the minaret or the top of the dome. It often happens also that a strong wind uncovers a house, and when any one enters it he finds everything in perfect order, though the master has become white bones. But no harm has come to the inanimate things."

* Tarikh-i-Rashaidi, p. 11.

How Taimur Tughluk Khan was converted to Muhammedanism is related in the following manner:—*"At that time Tughluk Taimur Khan was in Aksu. When he had first been brought there he was sixteen years of age. He was eighteen when he first met the Shaikh, and he met him in the following way. The Khan had organised a hunting party, and he promulgated an order that no one should absent himself from the hunt. It was, however, remarked that some persons were seated in a retired spot. The Khan sent to fetch these people, and they were seized, bound and brought before him, inasmuch as they had transgressed the commands of the Khan, and had not presented themselves at the hunt. The Khan asked them: 'Why have you disobeyed my commands?' The Shaikh replied: 'We are strangers, who have fled from the ruined town of Katak. We know nothing about the hunt nor the ordinances of the hunt, and therefore we have not transgressed your orders.' So the Khan ordered his men to set the Tajik free. He was at that time feeding some dogs with swine's flesh, and he asked the Shaikh angrily: 'Are you better than this dog, or is the dog better than you?' The Shaikh replied: 'If I have faith I am better than this dog; but if I have no faith, this dog is better than I am.' On hearing these words, the Khan retired and sent one of his men, saying; 'Go and place that Tajik upon your own horse, with all due respect, and bring him here to me.'

"The Mongol went and led his horse before the Shaikh. The Shaikh, noticing that the saddle was stained with the blood of a pig, said: 'I will go on foot.' But the Mongol insisted that the order was that he should mount the horse. The Shaikh then spread a clean handkerchief over the saddle and mounted. When he arrived before the Khan, he noticed that this latter was standing alone in a retired spot, and there were traces of sorrow on his countenance. The Khan asked the Shaikh: 'What is this thing that renders man, if he possess it, better than a dog?' The Shaikh replied: 'Faith,' and he explained

* Tarikh-i-Rashaidi, pp. 12 to 15.

to him what Faith was, and the duties of a Mussulman. The Khan wept thereat, and said: 'If I ever become Khan, and obtain absolute authority, you must, without fail, come to me, and I promise you I will become a Mussulman.' He then sent the Shaikh away with the utmost respect and reverence. Soon after this the Shaikh died. He left a son of the name of Arshad-ud-Din, who was exceedingly pious. His father once dreamed that he carried a lamp up to the top of a hill, and that its light illuminated the whole of the East. After that, he met Tughluk Taimur Khan in Aksu, and said what has been mentioned above. Having related this to his son, he charged him, saying: 'Since I may die at any moment, let it be your care, when the young man becomes Khan, to remind him of his promise to become a Mussulman; thus blessing may come about through your meditation, and through you, the world may be illumined.'

"Having completed his injunctions to his son, the Shaikh died. Soon afterwards Tughluk Taimur became Khan. When news of this reached Maulana Arshad-ud-Din, he left Aksu and proceeded to Moghulistan, where the Khan was ruling in great pomp and splendour. But all his efforts to obtain an interview with him, that he might execute his charge, were in vain. Every morning, however, he used to call out prayers near to the Khan's tent. One morning the Khan said to one of his followers: 'Somebody has been calling out like this for several mornings now; go and bring him here.' The Maulana was in the middle of his call to prayer when the Mongol arrived, who, seizing him by the neck, dragged him before the Khan. The latter said to him: 'Who are you that thus disturb my sleep every morning at an early hour?' He replied: 'I am the son of the man to whom, on a certain occasion, you made the promise to become a Mussulman.' And he proceeded to recount the above related story. The Khan then said: 'You are welcome and where is your father?' He replied: 'My father is dead, but he entrusted this mission to me.' The Khan rejoined: 'Ever since I ascended the throne I have had it on my mind that I made that promise, but the person to whom I gave the pledge never came.

Now you are welcome. What must I do ?' On that morn the sun of bounty rose out of the East of divine favour, and effaced the dark night of Unbelief. Khidmat Maulana ordained ablution for the Khan, who, having declared his faith, became a Mussulman. They then decided that for the propagation of Islam, they should interview the princes one by one, and it should be well for those who accepted the faith, but those who refused should be slain as heathens and idolators.

"On the following morning, the first to come up to be examined alone was Amir Tulik, who was my great grand-uncle. When he entered the Khan's presence, he found him sitting with the Tajik, and he advanced and sat down with them also. The Khan began by asking, 'Will you embrace Islam ?' Amir Tulik burst into tears and said: 'Three years ago I was converted by some holy men at Kashghar, and became a Mussulman but, from fear of you, I did not openly declare it.' Thereupon the Khan rose up and embraced him ; then the three sat down again together. In this manner they examined the princes one by one. All accepted Islam, till it came to the turn of Jaras, who refused, but suggested two conditions, one of which was: 'I have a man named Sataghni Buka, if this Tajik can overthrow him I will become a Believer.' The Khan and the Amirs cried out, 'What absurd condition is this ?' Khidmat Maulana, however, said : 'It is well, let it be so. If I do not throw him, I will not require you to become a Mussulman.' Jaras then said to the Maulana : 'I have seen this man lift up a two years old camel He is an infidel, and above the ordinary stature of men.' Khidmat Maulana replied : 'If it is God's wish that the Mongols become honoured with the blessed state of Islam, He will doubtless give me sufficient power to overcome this man.' The Khan and those who had become Mussulmans were not pleased with these plans. However, a large crowd assembled, the Kafir was brought in, and he and Khidmat Maulana advanced towards one another. The infidel, proud of his own strength, advanced with a conceited air. The Maulana looked very small and weak beside him. When they came to

blows, the Maulana struck the infidel full in the chest, and he fell senseless. After a little, he came to again and having raised himself, fell again at the feet of the Maulana, crying out and uttering words of Belief. The people raised loud shouts of applause, and on that day 160,000 persons cut off the hair of their heads and became Mussulmans. The Khan was circumcised, and the light of Islam dispelled the shades of Unbelief. Islam was disseminated all through the country of Chagatai Khan, and (thanks be to God) has continued fixed in it to the present time."

Mirza Haidar recounts the death of his great grand-father thus: "In short, the Amir went to Mekka. When my father (God have mercy on him) went to Khorasan, as I have mentioned in the second part, he found there one of the Generals of Sultan Husain Mirza, named Sultan Alim Barlas, who was a very old man, being nearly one hundred years of age. He had been held in great honour by the Mirza. My father questioned him concerning his ancestors and their times. He replied: 'My father's name was Shah Husain Barlas. He was one of the Mongol Barlases and a distinguished Amir. Amir Khudaidad travelled with him from Moghulistan.' When my father heard this story, he became greatly interested and begged him (the Barlas) to narrate the whole history. The latter began: 'I was quite a boy when Mir Khudaidad undertook his pilgrimage to Mekka, and my father accompanied him, for he was in the service of the Amir. We fled from Moghulistan and wandered from town to town, till we set out upon the journey to visit the holy town of Mekka; when we had been a few days on our return journey, the Amir asked where Medina was, they told him that Medina lay in a different direction.' At this the Amir was much distressed, and said: 'I have come a great distance and suffered many privations; yet I have not made the *tawaf* (circuit) of the garden of the Prophet (may the peace and prayers of God be upon him) and it is a long journey home again.'

"He then gave all his servants and porters leave to return home with the caravan, sending with them many letters and messages for his children in Moghulistan. One of these letters has

passed down from father to son into my possession, for it had always been carefully preserved in our family. In short, the Amir and his wife started for Medina unencumbered, making an Arab go in front to guide them. My father sent me with him too, so I was of the Amir's party. After a long journey we arrived at Medina. The Amir made the *tawaf* of the garden of the Prophet (upon whom be the most excellent of prayers), and we passed the night in the house of a dervish. As night came on a great change manifested itself in the Amir. He called my father (*i.e.*, Shah Husain Barlas) and said to him: 'Read me the chapter called *Ya-sin*;' when my father came to the verse '*Mislahum Bala*' the Amir expired. We were all astounded at this occurrence. With the break of day, many of the nobles and people of Medina came to the house, asking: 'Did not some one die here last night?' and when we told them, they began to condole with us, and said: 'We have this night seen the Prophet in our sleep and he said to us: a guest has come to me to-night; he had made a very long journey to visit me, and he has died here during the night: bury him at the foot of the tomb of the Commander of the Faithful Osman.' Then the Prophet drew a line with the end of his stick. As soon as we awoke, we went and found that a line had been drawn there. Happy the man who has been honoured with such a favour! The nobles of Medina buried the Amir at the feet of Osman with great honour. On the following night the wife of the Amir died also, and she was buried near where her husband had been laid."

When Sultan Ali Barlas reached this spot in his narrative, my father showed signs of great happiness; whereupon they questioned him as to the cause of his delight. My father replied: *"This Amir Khudaidad was my grandfather." Sultan Ali Barlas immediately got up and having embraced my father and said: "What I have told you is true. But no news of the death of the Amir ever reached Moghulistan, for on our return journey we settled down for some time in Irak, and then in Khorasan, and no one brought the news into Moghulistan.

* Tarikh-i-Rashidi, pp. 70—71.

Thanks be to God that I have been able to give this news to you, and tell you what a noble death Amir Khudaidad died."

The great Taimur brought the Mongols of Moghulistan into more or less complete subjection. The Khans became absolutely powerless vassals of this great ruler. But with his death they resumed their independence and there was constant strife between the descendants of Taimur who ruled over Mawar-an-Naher and the Mongols who nominally under their Khan roamed over Moghulistan. One of the Khan family, Yunus Khan, was taken away from Moghulistan by Mirza Ulugh Beg a Taimuride at the age of 24 and only returned there at the age of 41. Most of the time he spent in study at Yazd in Persia; the rest of the time he spent in wandering over the Muhammedan civilised West. He was sent back to Moghulistan by Mirza Said Khan who ruled in Khorasan and who hoped that by sending him into Moghulistan as a rival to his brother the reigning Khan, Isad Bugha Khan, his own plans would be forwarded. A battle between the followers of the Khans ensued, which resulted in the defeat of Yunus Khan and his return to Khorasan. He frequently re-attempted to conquer the country during the reign of Isad Bugha Khan, and the latter's worthless son, Dost Mohommed Khan, but never succeeded. After the latter's death he, however, peacefully entered the country and reigned in name at least over the Mongols for many years. He was always a lover of towns while his people's only happy life was in tents, and though for a time he too became a Nomad, his passion for towns was too strong for him, and consequently towards the end of his life the tribes of the North Steppes raised his second son Sultan Ahmed to the Khanate. Yunus Khan died in 1487 A. D.

An account given by Mirza Haidar gives a vivid account of the vicissitudes of warfare at the time.

*"When the inhabitants of Turkestan learnt the news of the advance of the Mongols in their territory, and having ascertained that Yunus Khan was at Kara Tukai, they sent Buruj out with all speed to attack him. On that day the Khan happened to be

* Tarikh-i-Rashidi, pp. 92—93.

out hunting with all his men near the banks of the Sihun. Baruj, crossing the river on the ice at midday, found the camp of the Khan undefended; he had 20,000 soldiers with him, and there were at that time 60,000 families of Mongols. They entered the camp and each soldier made himself master of an untenanted house. They settled down in the Khan's camp, occupying themselves with the appropriation of all the wealth and spoil they found there.

When the news of this matter reached the Khan he immediately abandoned the hunt, and set out in the direction of his camp without waiting to collect his *men*; when he reached the river he found it was frozen over. The Khan's camp was pitched on the opposite bank of the river. The Khan could blow the horn (*nafir*) better than any one of his day, and all his men knew the sound of his blast. He now gave a loud blast on the horn, and then rushed across the ice, accompanied by six men, one of whom was the bearer of the great standard (Shash Tughji). The women hearing the approach of the Khan seized all the Uzbegs who were in their houses When Buruj Oghlan heard the sound of the horn and saw the six men and the standard, he rose up with the intent of mounting his horse, but the female servants had seized both his groom (*akhtaji*) and his horse. Some women at that moment came out of their houses and seized Buruj Oghlan, when the Khan, arriving upon the scene, ordered them to behead him; this order was carried out immediately, and of the 20,000 Uzbegs a few only escaped. The Khan then again settled down, victorious, in his camp. On the morrow, when the army had re-assembled, the pursuit of the enemy was continued, and all the Sultans of Abulkhair Khan who survived, were scattered in different directions." A second story of the time and of women's part therein is too characteristic to be omitted.

"This same Isan Daulat Begum was given, as a present, by Sheikh Jamal Khan, to one of his most distinguished officers. When the Begum heard of this, she made no objections, but appeared pleased. They then informed Khwaja Kalan (as this officer was named) of the Begum's pleasure: he too was much pleased, and in the evening went to her house. He found her

servants standing outside. He himself entered the room. Now before his arrival, the Begum had arranged with her female attendants (*dalan*) that on a given sign from her, they should make fast all the doors of the house. So when Khwaja Kalan had entered the room, having fastened the doors, the female attendants laid hold of him and put him to death, by stabbing him with knives (*kizlik*). When the day broke they threw his body outside. Some person seeing the Khwaja's dead body, went and reported the matter to Sheikh Jamal, who sent to ask the Begum the meaning of it all. The Begum replied: *"I am the wife of Sultan Yunus Khan; Sheikh Jamal gave me to some one else; this is not allowed by Muhammedan law, so I killed the man and Sheikh Jamal Khan may kill me also if he likes.' Sheikh Jamal commended her words, and, taking pity on her, sent her back with all honour to the Khan (her husband)."

Yunus Khan's personal appearance was thus described by a Muhammedan holy man of Mawar-an-Naher.

†"I had heard that Yunus Khan was a Moghul, and I concluded that he was a beardless man, with the ways and manners of any other Turk of the desert. But when I saw him, I found he was a person of elegant deportment, with a full beard and a Tajik face, and such refined speech and manner, as is seldom to be found even in a Tajik." In short, when his Holiness had seen the Khan, he addressed letters to all the Sultans round about, saying: "I have seen Yunus Khan and the Mongols. The subjects of such a *padishah* are not to be carried off captives They are people of Islam."

On this the author remarks:—

"From this time forth, no more Mongols were brought or sold as slaves in Mawar-an-Naher and Khorasan, for before this, the Mongols had been purchased as other Kaffirs are purchased." This proves first by how far non-Mongol blood had infected the old Mongolian stock (the present day Turk has only infinitesimal Mongolian blood in him), and secondly, that the Mongols of Moghulistan of that day, though nominally Muhammedans, were really still heathen.

* Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 94.

† Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Introduction, p. 79

CHAPTER XI.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth after Christ four men stand out par excellence in the history of Central Western Asia: Mirza Aba Bakr, Shahi Beg Khan (Shaibani), Shah Ismail and Baber, the first of the Delhi Moghul Emperors. Of these, the first, one of the many descendants of Taimur made his way to power by a mixture of treachery and force, first of all seizing Yarkund and Khotan and then by driving Yunus Khan out of Kashghar. Shahi Beg who was an Uzbeg, was originally a follower of the son of Yunus Khan, Sultan Ahmed Khan who made him a ruler over Turkistan. This Sultan Ahmed Khan is described as not knowing the value of men and of imagining whomsover he favoured a valuable man. Consequently he was misled by pernicious advisers and put to death his principal Amirs. He favoured Shaibani, who, when he had taken Samarkand and Bokhara from the Taimurides, turned against him, defeated him in battle and took him prisoner. He sent him away with all courtesy along with his brother to Moghulistan, but on his returning to the country again and presenting himself a second time before him, he remarked that a second kindness would be dangerous and had him drowned. By this time Shaibani had become the most powerful ruler in Mawer-an-Naher. A story told of this man's strength of character is to be found in the Tarikh-i-Rashidi. The Mahmud Sultan mentioned therein was his chief supporter at the time, being very influential with the soldiery

*"I have heard the Khan relate, in terms of wonder and admiration, that when Shahi Beg Khan had conquered Hissar, news was brought of the taking of Kunduz by Mahmud Sultan. Shahi Beg Khan, having entrusted Hissar to Hamza Sultan and Chaghanian to Mahdi Sultan, set out quickly on his return. As the pass of Darbandi-i-Ahanin (The Iron Gate) was very difficult (continued the Khan), and as the army was much burdened with booty, they made the journey, *farsakh* after *farsakh*, by way of

* Tarikh-i-Rashidi, 171.

Buya and Tirmiz. While the victorious army was encamped at Buya, I was sitting once, at midday, in the royal tent (*majlis*). The hour for the assembly had not yet arrived, and only a few of the king's intimates were present, when somebody with a terrified countenance and wild appearance came in great haste, and laid a letter at the foot of the royal throne. As Shahi Beg perused the contents of this letter a great change came over him, and before he had finished reading it, he rose up and went into his harem, giving orders for his horse to be brought. He remained for some time in the harem; but after midday prayers came out again and mounted his horse. He was attended by a great number of people. Then it was made known that Mahmud Sultan had died a natural death in Kunduz, and that his body was on the way (to the camp). When Shahi Beg Khan had got some distance away, we saw a great crowd in pitch-black clothes, such as captives wear. Having placed the bier upon the ground, they drew up in two lines behind it. When Shahi Beg Khan saw this, he made a sign for all the Sultans and others to dismount and follow in his train. These, having obeyed, began to rise cries of grief and lamentation; and we, in the camp, also commenced to utter moans and wailings. When those attending the bier approached, he ordered all who were with him to draw up a line, while he himself rode forward until his horse's head was just above the bier; he then gave a sign for every one to keep silence, and thereupon those who were with him ceased from rending their garments and tearing their beards. He then called one of the Amirs of Mahmud Sultan, and said to him such things as are usual on occasion of condolence. After this he remained silent for a while, never showing the slightest change in his countenance, nor shedding a tear. At the end of an hour he raised his head and said: "The death of Mahmud is a good thing; men have been wont to say that the power of Shahi Beg Khan was upheld by Mahmud: let it now be known that Shahi Beg Khan was in no way whatever dependant upon Mahmud. Carry him away now, and bury him." Having said this, he turned away, and "all present were astounded at his boldness and composure."

Of Shah Ismail, the founder of the present national kingdom of Persia and the establisher of Shiism as the predominant creed there, sufficient is it for me to say that it was he that defeated Shaibani near Merv just as the latter seemed about to become a second Taimur. In this battle (A. D. 1510) Shaibani fell; subsequently the Uzbegs partially recovered from the blow; managing to retain the mastery of the fertile countries of Mawer-an-Naher, but never save for short periods through Razzias, in one of which as I have already recorded they sacked Meshed, did they become Rulers of Khorasan or of the other lands to the South of the Oxus.

After his death we are told the two Khans (for there were since Yunus Khan's death two Khans in Moghulistan) after fighting with each other made peace. From this peace and reconciliation between the two brothers, resulted such security and prosperity for the people, that any one might travel alone between Khitai (China) and the country of Ferghana, without provision for the journey and without fear of molestation. The history of the Mongol power in Moghulistan proper at this point ceases from the beginning of the sixteenth century to be of any great general interest as from thenceforth they gave up troubling the outer world.

Aba Bakr came to an evil end. He was according to Mirza Haidar a tyrant of the worst sort. Death, mutilation, torture of prisoners, such is Mirza Haidar's melancholy story. Add to this that he professed in all of his actions that he professed to be acting according to law, and one can reproduce the type of man revolting to contemplate, whether it be Henry VIII of England or Aba Bakr of Kashgar. Cruelty and suspicion march together, and so gradually he put to death all his chief ministers. Consequently when Syed Khan attacked him, he had but few to help him and was driven first out of Kashgar, then out of Khotan, to which place he retreated and finally finding it impossible to stay in Thibet and returning to surrender to Syed Khan, was seized by his own former servants who, as Mirza Haidar says, verified the proverb that "sleep is the brother of death" by slaying him in his sleep. Of Baber, the first Moghul Emperor, I shall write later on at length.

CHAPTER XII.

TAIMUR.

TAIMUR was born in the year 1336 at Kech, the green city, in Transoxiana, fifty miles South of Samarkand. At the time of his birth Chenghiz Khan had been a little more than a hundred years in his grave. The mark of his destroying hand was still everywhere apparent, but the positive results brought about by him and his successors were gradually being blotted out. The Mongols had indeed established themselves in China; they still ruled the deserts and steppes which stretch from Modern Manchuria to the Volga with a rule more centralised than that which existed before Chenghiz but still of a fluid nature as rule over wandering hordes must ever be; but in South-Western Asia, the immemorial home of civilization and the centre of Islam and its learning and culture, the power of the last of the Mongols had declined to almost nothing. It needed a new conqueror to give this power a new lease of life—a lease which did not, however, last longer than the first, for within a little more than a hundred years of Taimur's death a national dynasty was established on the throne of Persia, which from henceforth became permanently Shiah and accordingly apart from the Sunni countries of the Orient. Over the rest of Western Asia, the Ottoman Turk owing to his superior political and military organisation firmly placed his foot—a foot which remains there to the present day. Taimur and Alp Arslan were both Turks; the first Chagatai, the second Osmanli. They both founded dynasties long lived for the Orient; from the former springing the great Moghuls of Delhi, from the latter the Turkish Sultans of Constantinople; but whereas the Delhi Emperors only indirectly succeeded Taimur, his descendants having for a century after his death nothing to do with India,—in the case of Alp Arslan the succession is what in another sphere of human history would be termed apostolic.

We have two accounts of Taimur of the first importance, one the Zafarnamah of Sharafuddin, and the other the

Malfuzat-i-Taimur of Nizam-Shah. Both were written shortly after Taimur's death. The first was translated by Petre de la Croix into French in 1722; a year after an English translation from the French appeared. A third book, the Tazukat-i-Taimur, the Institutes of Taimur, although they have been often challenged as apocryphal, will also help in letting us know, if not what manner of man he was, what manner of man he appeared to his descendants or what they wished him to seem to mankind. It seems to me, indeed, that to one carefully reading the Institutes —apart from its account of the arrangements as to his troops, as to their ranks and number and as to the administration of conquered countries, which are too symmetrical to be taken seriously as an accurate statement of the actual state of things, the Institutes are much what we would expect from the two Memoirs stated above. There is an Arab account of Taimur which naturally enough does not paint him in favourable colours. To the medieval Asiatic writer concerning Taimur all depends on the point of view. No Arab could look with favour upon a ruler whose connection with Arabs was only to depress them. Some Persian Councillors he had; parts of Persia he treated lightly; but in Irak or Arabia or wherever he came in contact with Arabs his hand was hard. In the Persian Memoirs his activity in war, his quickness of resource and his power to bear fatigue are set forth, and as to these there can be no doubt. None but a supremely active, able and enduring man could have done what he did. As to his other characteristics, his generosity, his justice, his administrative powers, less credence need be given to their statements His holocausts are rarely to be compared to Chenghiz Khan's as regards quantity; he was inclined to grant terms if thereby he got immediate submission; but he was, just like his Mongol predecessor, essentially a man of blood. Human life was nothing to him. A typical Tartar, conquest was more in his eyes than good government; a wandering life was the very breath of his nostrils; he needed ever to be on the move; roaming from one end of Asia to the other. Consequently he might overrun many kingdoms, establish a permanent Monarchy he could not.

In the Institutes Taimur tells us his rule of conquest ;* "And in whatever country the holy laws are disregarded; where they neglect those to whom the Almighty hath given dignity; where they injure and oppress his holy servants; it is the duty of a conqueror with a firm determination to support the faith and the laws of Muhammed (on whom lie the blessing of God) to invade that country; for the Prophet of the Lord shall assist him in all his undertakings." It will be noticed that Taimur here gives a very extended meaning to "the holy war," which good Muhammedan rulers according to some of the traditions (by no means all) are enjoined to make. Most of his wars, indeed, were against Mussulmans or at least against professing Mussulmans. Such were his wars against the powers of Western Asia (including the Osmanli Turks); such those against the Padshah of Delhi, the Golden Horde, the Horde of Kipchak of the North, and the Mongol Hordes of the East, with whom Taimur was constantly at war; for they in part at least professed Muhammedanism, though Taimur affected to look on them as Idolators. Indeed the Georgians were the only completely non-Muhammedan people save the Hindus in the Indian army, with whom Taimur ever came into contact.

An account of his life may be divided into four parts: the first, relating to his early struggles until he became the recognised head of the Chagatai Turks; the second, to his conquest of Persia to the South and of the Steppes to the North, North-West and East (including in this his earlier Georgian wars); the third part would tell of his Indian war; the fourth, of his wars with Egypt and the Osmanli Turk culminating in the great victory of Angora A. D. 1402 and his death.

The first part of his life need not keep us long. He and his brother-in-law Amir Husain had incessant wars with the other petty rulers of Mawar-an-Naher, and also with sections of the hordes to the North of the Jaxartes. On more than one occasion the Khan of the Central Mongol horde intervened, and as other soldiers of fortune in other times, Taimur found himself at times

* Taimur's Institutes, p. 333.

either compelled to accept his nominal liege lord's favour or in any case found it desirable so to do. This period came to an end with the murder of Amir Husain. He had more than once opposed and thwarted Taimur in the latter part of this first period, evidently thinking that Taimur was taking the lion share of the advantages obtained by their union. Amir Husain became Taimur's prisoner after a war between them, the latter having promised that no one should undertake anything against his life. While he was a prisoner, one of Taimur's subject princes complained that Amir Husain had put to death his brother and demanded vengeance against him. This I may say is not the only occasion in the history of Taimur and his descendants that such a request has been made against a captive relative, whom the reigning prince desires to destroy. Taimur told this prince, so we read, that he ought to abandon the prosecution for that his brother's blood would be revenged without his having a hand in it, and quoted a verse of poetry. "Leave him who hath offended you in the hands of time, for time and fortune will avenge you." Husain was consequently let go, but was followed by the complainant together with other servants of Taimur, overtaken and slain. Sharafuddin says, this was done without the leave of Taimur but as he adds, "which punishment being due to him according to the strict rules of justice, the protection of Taimur awaited him nothing," and as we do not read of Taimur having punished the murderers, we may take it that the act done was not displeasing to him. Anyhow, immediately after this murder he was formally seated upon the "Imperial throne" of Chagatai and assumed all the attributes of royalty. We may easily infer that the political maxim set forth by Sharafuddin which I quote below, a maxim often quoted and always acted upon in the East, wherever occasion may serve, really led to Amir Husain's death. "As Sovereignty according to Muhammad is the shadow of God, who is one, it cannot be divided, no more than there could have been two moons in the same heaven." So adds the writer, "to fulfil this truth, God destroys those who oppose him whom providence would fix upon the throne.

Taimur thus in A. D. 1369 at the age of thirty-three became the head of the Chagatai Turks. For the next thirty years, we find him constantly at war either in Persia and the countries immediately touching it, or with the hordes of the desert. Taimur was as prone as any medieval Catholic, wherever he found a shrine, to pray at it, asking protection from the dead saint, who might be buried there. The reader must remember that almost invariably a Muhammedan shrine is connected with the Mausoleum of some departed worthy. We read in this connection not only of his visiting the tombs of Muhammedan doctors such as Hanifa, but also of the first of the Abbasides, the race of Caliphs who succeeded the Ommiyades, the race of Moawiyah execrated as the persecutors of the family of Muhammad; we also have him at Mosul visiting and praying at the tombs of Jonah and St. George, and we find his ordering Mausoleums to be built for the wives of Muhammad at Damascus. And it was not only dead saints that Taimur particularly revered. We read of his receiving on the magnificent scale Sayid Bereke, a descendant of the Prophet. keeping him with him in his lifetime and directing that both should be laid in the same tomb and that his (Taimur's) face should be turned side ways. so that at the day of judgment when every one should lift up their hands to heaven to implore assistance of some intercessor, he might lay hold on the robe of this child of the Prophet Muhammad.

The state of Persia, when he seized it, is thus graphically described by Sharafuddin. The princes, the successors of Muhammad Mozuffer, *"notwithstanding their affinity hated one another so much, that every one made attempts on the life and estate of his brother and let no occasion slip whereby he might pillage the country; and when anyone gained an advantage over another, if he gave him his life he was sure to blind him with a hot iron, the father spared not the son, nor the son the father. But what was worst of all, the poor people bore the burden of these disorders and were in a manner the tennis ball of misfortune

* Petis de la Croix. Vol. II, p. 421.

and misery and groaned under the weight of tyranny and oppression." Taimur on conquering the country put all of the race of Muhammad Mozuffer to death. His holocausts in these wars are not to be compared as I have said in extent to those of Chenghiz Khan. But still on occasions they were something awful. Thus at Teheran seventy thousand heads were counted. At the second taking of Baghdad in 1401 A. D., which I have previously mentioned in my account of the fall of the Mongols in Persia, we read—*"As there had been several Tartar soldiers slain in the general assault, each soldier was ordered to bring one head of the men of Baghdad, which they accordingly did, and spared neither old men of four score nor children of eight years of age. No quarter was given to either rich or poor, and the number of the dead was so great, that no one could count them up, though the Tavachis had orders to register it. Towers were made of these heads, to serve as an example to posterity. Some learned men found means to cast themselves at the feet of the Emperor, who granted them pardon and quarter, and even gave them *vests* and horses, with a convoy to conduct them to what place of security they desired; all the rest of the inhabitants were exterminated. Afterwards Taimur gave orders that there should not remain one single house in the city unrazed; but that the mosques, colleges and hospitals should be spared. Accordingly they ruined the markets, caravanserais, hermitages, cells, monasteries, palaces, and other edifices. Thus says the Alkoran, "The houses of the impious are overthrown by the order of God."

The Arabian author says there were ninety thousand inhabitants of Baghdad on this occasion slain in cold blood and that the heads made one hundred and twenty towers. Not less gruesome is the story of the punishment of two thousand slaves who had rebelled. These were piled alive one upon the other with mortar and bricks. In the following section which relates to the Indian Expeditions the Delhi massacre will be mentioned. From this we may infer that Taimur, although not the equal to Chengiz

* Petis de la Croix, Vol. II, p. 216.

Khan, trod in his steps very closely. Taimur's administration of justice was very strict. In the East generally there is but one punishment and that is death, and about inflicting this Taimur never hesitated. On one occasion where a complaint was made to him that a subject prince was tyrannising over the town of Irjab and had slain an Imperial Officer, the prince was handed over with two hundred of his followers to the officer's brother, who assisted by three of his servants cut off all their heads and made a tower of them. So, writes the author who tells us about this, we see that passage of the Koran fulfilled which threatens tyrants with confusion and ruin. As to his wars in the North in the Steppes round and North of the Caspian Sea, he seems more or less effectually to have broken the strength of the Hordes which roamed there. In so doing he really laid the foundation of the power of Modern Russia. The Sclav was never in a position to contend with the Mongol and the Tartar until the latter by fratricidal conflict had fatally weakened themselves. The Russian has indeed taken in these Steppes the place of the Mongol, agriculture has largely supplanted the pasturing of cattle, but the people remain at bottom more or less fundamentally the same. The same spirit of wandering and the want of resistance has made the Modern Russian wander and wander until he has been stopped by the Pacific Ocean. Westward his limits are fixed; it is only by the accident that Brandenburg became a great power in the eighteenth century and not in the sixteenth or seventeenth that the Russian holds the German Baltic provinces; probably if Prussia had been a great state sooner there would too have been no Russian Poland. Towards the East her course has been free and the overthrow of the power of the Muhammedan Hordes effectually completed by Taimur has left the road clear. Petis de la Croix derives the name Russia from one of the Horde rulers Rusous Khan—a fanciful derivation.

We read that Taimur got so far north, so near the pole that in the evening before the sun was entirely set the rays of the morning appeared in the east and in these places when the sun is in the Northern signs, it is not permitted according to the

ordinance of the Muhammedan law that the evening prayer should be made To Taimur's Indian Expedition I give a special Section.

TAIMUR'S INVASION OF INDIA.*

The reason for the invasion of India by Taimur as given by himself was the desire to lead an expedition against the infidels and to become a Ghazi. It is not uncharitable to add that the desire of plunder was also a very powerful motive. Delhi had escaped the fate which had befallen almost every city of the Muhammedan East since the days that Chenghiz Khan, the scourge of God had entered on his devastating career at the end of the twelfth century after Christ. In this respect Cairo alone of the great cities of the Muhammedan world had been equally fortunate. Delhi indeed had been more or less depopulated by Muhammad Tughlak, when he attempted to shift the centre of the Muhammedan power in India to Deogiri (Daulatabad) in the Northern confines of the Indian peninsula, but probably the city had not suffered much thereby either as regards its buildings or its wealth. She still remained the centre of the Indian Muhammedan world, the store house of Indian wealth. And how great that was, the enormous area of fertile land there was in India compared with that in any other country of Western Asia, the accumulations of wealth in the great towns, as testified to us by all that we can learn of India as it then was, teach us.

Taimur had no intention of staying in India. His mission was to destroy not to build up. In the Memoirs we read—some of the nobles said—"By the favour of Almighty God we may conquer India but if we establish ourselves permanently therein, our race will degenerate and our children will become like the natives of those regions and in a few generations their strength and valour will diminish." Taimur replies "My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the infidels that according to the law of Muhammad (upon whom and his family lie the blessing of peace of God) we may convert to th

* Elliott, Vol. III, p. 397.

true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become Ghazis and Mujahids before God."* Such was the cover of words and doubtless Taimur, a Muhammedan, still more a Tartar, fervently believed that he was doing God's service in carrying on what he considered a holy war, but the strongest motive, though to his consciousness it may have been obscured, was the desire for plunder and destruction. It is noticeable in men of Taimur's type that their holy war does not confine itself to infidels alone. If the people of Islâm, true Muhammedans, oppose him so much the worse for them. They have ceased to be Mussalmans and have become of the tribe of Kafirs. They too must be exterminated. In men of his stamp, whatever their form of religion may be, deep in their hearts is the belief that they are, if not God, at least God's sons. Opposition to them is rebellion against the most High.

Taimur, after having much conflict with the wild Siyah poshes of the Afghan hills, crossed the Indus on the 24th of September 1398. His troops seem to have passed the Afghan ranges by the Bolan or some other of the southern passes. His son who had preceded him, had been engaged for months in the seige of Multan. His first operations were against a Muhammedan leader Shahabuddin. On his overthrow and death he self-contentedly remarks—I heard,† "that Shahabuddin had drowned himself after having first thrown his wives and children into the river, which utter annihilation of his family was very pleasing to me" A little later at a small town Talumba, held for ransom by him, he orders the townsmen to pay their ransom in grain instead of money. The natural consequence followed that the town was ransacked, upon which we read in his Memoirs the following.‡ "The hungry Tartars, making a general assault upon them like ants and locusts, plundered an enormous number of granaries, so numerous indeed as to be incalculable and according to the text, 'Verily Kings, when they enter a city utterly ruin it,' the hungry Tartars opened the hands of devastation in the city."

* Elliott, Vol. III, p. 397. † Elliott, Vol. III, p. 412. ‡ Elliott, Vol. III, p. 414.

After the conquest of Multan, Taimur prepared for his march on Delhi. Previous conquerors had marched by the Northern route keeping well to the middle of the fertile lands of the Punjab, passing through Lahore and Sirhind. Taimur, on the other hand, determined to strike through the desert. Reasons for this were probably that his intention was to end his expedition before the expiry of the cold weather, and the fact that his army was comparatively small and chiefly consisted of horsemen, not cavalry of the modern type but rather what we would call nowadays mounted infantry. A portion of his army did indeed march by the North and it did meet him before the final assault on Delhi; but he had evidently discounted the fact of this body not being able to meet him at all. By the desert route he only had to pass one great fortress, Bhatnir. This stands on the Northern verge of the great Rajput desert. Its ruler's name is given as Dal Chand. In the Memoirs we are told how Dal Chand more than once prayed for quarter and promised to surrender the fort; how he broke his word, how eventually he came out and surrendered himself; but how a number alike of Hindus and Mussalmans fought to the last; "the Infidels and Mussalmans in the fort now found their case desperate. The infidels shut up their wives and children in their houses, to which they set fire, and they and their families were burned altogether; those who called themselves Mussalmans. but who had strayed from the Muhammedan fold, killed their wives and children with the sword, and then boldly facing death rushed together into the fight." "In a short space of time all the people in the fort were put to the sword, and in the course of one hour the heads of ten thousand infidels were cut off. The sword of Islam was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain which for many a long year had been stored in the fort, became the spoil of *my* soldiers." In the Zafar-Nama, the story is told in an even gruesome fashion:. "The Kafirs (infidels) set fire to the place, and cast their wives and children into the fire and consumed them.* A party of them who called themselves Mussulmans,

*Elliott, Vol. III, p. 491.

cut off the heads of their wives and children like so many sheep." "Victory at length favoured our arms. Ten thousand of the infidels were slain; the houses were set on fire and the whole place was destroyed. Nothing was left but a heap of ashes."

From Bhatnir on he marched to Delhi. On his way he mentions having had trouble with the Jats, whom he says were Mussalmans only by name and robbers by profession. The Jats are probably an older importation of the Tartar race into India, dating as far back as the early centuries of the Christian Era, and are now mainly Hindu by religion. Anyhow with the usual amount of satisfaction which Taimur evinces, when describing wholesale slaughter, he tells us how he slew 2,000 demon-like Jats and saved the country from the terror it had long suffered at their hands. Nearing Delhi he was met by those of his troops who had marched further North through the more fertile tracts of the Punjab. Near to Panipat he falls in with a colony of Sunawis (fire-worshippers). These cannot have been the ancestors of the Parsis of India of the present day, but they were evidently connected in some way with Persia as they held to the Persian belief of two gods, one of goodness Yazdon, and one of evil Ahriman.* Taimur notes as arch-heresy on their part that they did not know "that whatsoever there is of evil comes from God and that man is the mere instrument of its execution." This is the fatalism of Islam in its coarsest form. Chenghiz Khan, Tamerlane, Napoleon in such matters always speak in the same tone. Add that the instrument of God in each case is themselves and you have the world conqueror's belief in a nutshell. When Taimur approached Delhi, he found that he would have to fight a battle before capturing the city. The name of the Chief General of Sultan Muhammad of Delhi was Mallu Khan. A large army, the number of which Taimur gives as 10,000 horse and 40,000 infantry, was arrayed to oppose him. The chief strength of the Delhi army consisted in its 125 war elephants. These animals turned out to be, as so often has been in the case in Indian warfare, of no great use.* Before the battle a wholesale

*Elliott, Vol. III, p. 431.

slaughter of the Hindu prisoners was ordered. I transcribe here from* Elliott's translation of the Malfuzat-i-Timur an account of what occurred. A more ghastly story rendered more nauseous by the self-contented tone of the writer can hardly be conceived.

"At this Court Amir Jahan Shah and Amir Sulaiman Shah and other Amirs of experience brought to my notice that, from the time of entering Hindustan up to the present time, we had taken more than 100,000 infidels and Hindus prisoners, and that they were all in my camp. On the previous day, when the enemy's force made the attack upon us, the prisoners made signs of rejoicings, uttered imprecations against us, and were ready, as soon as they heard of the enemy's success, to form themselves into a body, break their bonds, plunder our tents, and then to go and join the enemy, and so increase his numbers and strength. I asked their advice about the prisoners and they said that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage and that it would be entirely opposed to the rules of law to set these idolators and foes of Islam at liberty. In fact no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword. When I heard these words I found them in accordance with the rules of war and I directly gave my command for the Tawachis to proclaim throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners was to put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer. When this order became known to the Ghazis of Islam they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death. 100,000 infidels, impious idolators, were on that day slain. Maulana Nasiruddin Umar, a councillor and man of learning, who in all his life had never killed a sparrow, now in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolators, Hindus, who were his captives."

The following after what has been written will be read with a feeling of relief: "I enquired of the learned and good men that accompanied my army, such as ..... where they would

*Elliott, Vol. III, p. 435.

like to be placed on the day of the battle. They had been with me in many campaigns and had witnessed many a great battle, but the stories about the elephants of India had so affected them that they instantly replied that they would like to be placed with the ladies while the battle was in progress. So to allay the apprehensions of this class of men, I gave orders that all the buffaloes which had been taken and placed with the baggage should be bought up; I then had their necks and heads fastened to their legs, and placed the animals inside the abattis." We have only accounts of the fight from the one side. The details given are as tiresome as a modern despatch; the net result was that the Indian host was unable to withstand the hardy warriors of Turkestan and that the elephants did no harm. With the defeat of the army all resistance ceased, and on Wednesday, the 17th of December 1398, Taimur entered Delhi. He ordered that quarter should be given to the people, as he says out of respect to the Sayads and learned men, and that the Khutba should be repeated in his name. From this date the Moghul rulers were accustomed to count their Kingdom of India.

On Thursday the sack of the city commenced. The pious Taimur remarks: "The pen of fate had written down this destiny for the people of this city. Although I was desirous of sparing them, I could not succeed, for it was the will of God that calamity should fall upon this city." The Memoirs give many reasons how it was that the city came to be sacked, but we may take it that the main cause was that Taimur's troops lived by plunder and that they were not to be baulked of their prey, even if Taimur had so willed and it is very doubtful whether he did so. The usual horrors ensued. An enormous amount of precious stones of gold and silver was taken and the 100,000 prisoners formerly massacred were replaced by the inhabitants of Delhi whom the Turki soldiers carried off as their spoil.

Taimur on seeing the buildings of Delhi conceived the idea of emulating them in his own home. Consequently he gave special orders as to the builders and stone-masons taken as slaves, that they should be set apart for his special use.

The capture and sack of Delhi is a capital fact in Indian History. The Delhi of that time was not the Delhi of the present day. It was divided into three parts, Siri, Old Delhi and Jahanpanah; many of the remains of these lying to the South of the present City may be seen at the present day by the visitor. What it was in its glory we have but few opportunities of knowing. The Kuth Minar, the great pillar of Altansh erected more than a century and a half previous and intended as a minaret to a gigantic mosque, shows the magnitude of the undertakings of the early Pathan Kings. The beautiful sixty-six coloured Hall as well as the tomb of Khusrau and Nizam Uddin show that the arts of grace were well understood by these old Kings. But one, who really wishes to understand what manner of man the Muhammedan rulers were prior to the inroad of Taimur, must go and gaze at the ruins of Tughlakabad. One of the Tughlak rulers early in the fourteenth century had determined to build a new palace and city for himself. His work had not proceeded far when he met his death. But what he did still remains though in ruins. A wall of huge stones, placed one on the other after the old Cyclopean fashion, includes three square miles of ground. Within this the women's quarters built on the most gigantic style are alone visible. The peacock and goat are to be seen everywhere. The owl now hoots in the palace of Cæsar; but still musing on Cæsar's palace, one's thoughts revert to what Cæsar was or did. These Pathan rulers, whatever else they were, were big men.

Taimur's inroad brought about absolute ruin. Perhaps the best proof of it is that for fifty years after his departure the old silver and gold coinages of India almost entirely disappeared. The coins struck for fifty years after that December Wednesday are almost uniformly copper.

Taimur came to plunder, not to stay. Having sacked Delhi he began his return journey. This time his route is under the Himalaya Hills. He captures Meerut on his way, even then an important Military position and has much fighting near Hurdwar. From there by Kangra and Jummoo he gets into Kashmir; and

from there returns to his beloved Samarkand. Behind him he leaves ruin; everywhere destruction, nowhere construction; and the only immediate effect on the political condition of Hindustan is that for many years to come the various rulers of the provinces, and for some time even the ruler in Delhi itself, affect to consider themselves as Vicegerents for Taimur or his successors. Indirectly Taimur's invasion and the fact that the Khutba was read for many years in his and his sons and grandsons' name laid a legal foundation for Babar's claim to the Lordship of Hindustan, a claim which, however, had to be substantiated not by legal disquisitions but by the force of the sword.

Sharaf Uddin has this note as to the sources of the Ganges. *"The defile of Ampele (near Hurdwar) is situate at the foot of a mountain near the Ganges; and sixteen miles higher than this defile is a stone carved in the form of a cow from whence springs this great river. For this reason the Indians adore this stone; and in all the neighbouring countries within a year's journey when they are at prayers they turn towards it." As a fact the place where the Ganges issues from the Himalayan Mountain, Gangutri, is known as Gou Mukhi (the cow's mouth), the boulders there showing a fanciful sort of similarity to the mouth of a cow. It is more than a hundred miles, however, from Hurdwar and the Hindus certainly at the present day do not in their prayers turn towards it.

CHAPTER XIII.

TAIMUR'S culminating military exploits were in the last years of his life when he was at an age at which most conquerors seek repose. In A. D. 1401 he sacked Baghdad. The slaughter was enormous. The siege had been protracted and the besieging army had lost many men. Consequently no quarter was shown. I have already quoted one account of the sack. Let me give another. "Their heads," says Sherif Uddin Taimur's panegyrist, "were built up into towers as a warning to prosperity, and that men should not raise their feet higher than their capacity." Orders

* Petis de la Croix, Vol. II, p. 78.

were given that every house was to be destroyed, but (and it is a curious proof how religious fanatics in all climate discriminate on these occasions) the mosques, colleges and hospitals were to be spared. "After the Tigris was rendered red with the blood of the inhabitants of Baghdad, says Sherif Uddin, the air began to be tainted with their corpses," and Taimur moved away to pay his devotions at the tomb of Imam Abu Hanifa, founder of one of the four great Muhammedan sects. He also attacked Syria, then in the hands of the Sultans of Egypt and took Damascus and other of the great towns in Upper Syria. In this town, Damascus, Taimur orders that two magnificent Mausoleums should be built over the sepulchres of two of the wives of Muhammad. This was done in twenty-five days. He remarks to his officers that Damascus was the head-quarters of the Ommeyade Conspiracy which broke the unity of Islam seven centuries previously. The soldiers accept this as a hint and promptly sack the place. A fire finally bursts out which caused immense destruction in the town. When he learns of this fire Taimur takes immediate steps to preserve the famous mosque of *the Ommeyades from the fire, but though the roof was made of wood covered with lead, instead of being varnished, God made his wrath appear against these people; for notwithstanding the soldiers' endeavours to quench it, they could not hinder the Eastern Minaret of this mosque being reduced to ashes, though it was built of stone; whereas the Minaret of Arolls, otherwise named Minar Beiza, remained safe, on which the Mussulmans believe, that the Lord Messiah Jesus, on whom, as on our Prophet, may blessings and salvation be showered, will descend from Heaven, when He shall come to judge both the living and the dead. And what was most miraculous is, that this latter Minaret, though built of wood, and plastered over with lime on the outer-side, remained entire, while all Damascus was burnt down, and the immense riches within it pillaged, and sacked, as well as the rest of Syria. But Taimur's greatest enemy was the Ottoman Turk. In his Memoirs these are described as inhabiting lands,

* Petis de la Croix, Vol. II, p. 201.

the Asylum for all the robbers of Asia. In his campaigns he harried Asia Minor through and through, taking by sap and storm Smyrna which he describes as the head-quarters of the Christians. At last he and Bajazet meet on the field of Angora. Before the Tartar's impetuosity the Turk went down, Bajazet became a prisoner (whether carried about in a cage or not seems doubtful, but he certainly died within a very few months) and for three years Taimur is the undoubted head of Asia. These three years he utilised in a triumphal return to Samarkand; and in an overhauling of the administration at head-quarters with the natural consequence of a number of executions, grand marriage festivities, at which wine freely flowed (after these are over Taimur prohibited its use throughout his dominions), the getting ready of an expedition against China, its setting out and the death of the great conqueror at Otrar not far from the Modern Kashgar in 1405. As to the state of Asia when he came to the throne and at his death his panegyrist tells us:* "In the beginning of Taimur's rise Asia was in the possession of usurpers, who had raised themselves to sovereignty, either by the extinction of the race of former Kings and Emperors, or by intrigues or revolts; but as the world could not be peaceably governed by so many Sovereigns, there were continual wars amongst them, and the poor people were driven into great extremities. Virtue and tranquility were banished the places which robbers only possessed; security was no longer to be met with on the high ways, which were full of thieves; and in fine, everything was in confusion and disorder. The world might then be well compared to a human body, which being infected with some corrupt matter, necessarily falls sick, and can receive no benefit but from a strong medicine, which purges out the cause of the disease; and yet this purgation cannot be undertaken without some inconveniences which may arise from a depraved appetite. In the same manner, God, who was pleased to purge the world, made use of a medicine, which was both sweet and bitter, to wit, the clemency and the wrath of incomparable Taimur; and to that

* Petis de la Croix, Vol. II, pp. 368—369.

effect, inspired in him an ambition to conquer all Asia, and to expel the several tyrants thereof. He established peace and security in this part of the world ; so that a single man might carry a silver basin filled with gold from the east of Asia to the west. But yet he could not accomplish this great affair without bringing in some measure upon the places he conquered, destruction, captivity, and plunder, which are the concomitants of victory."

The last words are very true. Doubtless the net result was the putting down of an immense amount of local and petty tyranny ; but it was at an awful expenditure of human life, and only for a time. For with his death, the fabric fell to pieces. His descendants grabbed any part of his extensive kingdom they could seize, and within a very few years Transoxiana, Persia, and all the countries round became again just what they were before. Another century and more had to elapse before the three great Powers, the Osmanli Turk, the Persian Sufis and the Indian Moghul brought these lands under the centralised rule of great states. Large parts of Taimur's kingdoms never belonged to any of these great powers, but the richest and the more civilised parts, almost all, were comprised in one of the three.

CHAPTER XIV.

With Taimur comes the parting of the ways in Central Asia. The Western Tartar has become completely Muhammedan ; he has no objection to living in towns ; the term Tajik, a town dweller, is no more a term of reproach. On the other hand, the Eastern Tartar, whether nominally a Muhammedan or not, still holds by his ancient ways. He still wanders over the steppes and obstinately refuses to settle in towns. The Western Tartar is chiefly to be found in Mawer-an-Naher (Transoxiana), where he has taken the place largely of the earlier Persian inhabitant ; there he has settled, and there save to conquer he will stay ; power becomes more concentrated ; all the making of a state politic, large or small, is to be found in this part of

Western Asia; beyond, everywhere up to the Arctic Ocean, to the Himalayas and the Pacific, the desert and the dweller therein. In the one small region some order, some civilisation; beyond, still primitive organisations, almost absolute chaos.

CHAPTER XV.

Christianity, Muhammedanism and the Mongols.

Gibbon has in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" told us how it was that the religion of Christ from being that of a few Galilean peasants became the state religion of Imperial Rome. It must have often struck those who think about such matters that it is a remarkable fact that Christianity has never far gone beyond its great victories over the Roman Empire. Nation after nation of the Goths, indeed, and other invaders of that Empire, came one by one under its influence and as a part of that influence, became Christian. When the old Pagan World Empire of Rome became changed into the Holy Western Empire and the Eastern Empire, new races coming in contact with the former became after a struggle longer or shorter Christians. Goths, Franks, Germans and later the *Saxons* and *Sclavs* one by one gave up their heathen gods and accepted the religion and theology of the Western Empire. In the Byzantine Empire, Christianity before the time of Justinian, began to influence the Sclavs of the South of Russia, and little by little penetrated into the depths of that great country. On the other hand in the Eastern part of that Empire, in Syria where Christianity was first born, and in Egypt, the religion of Christ went down before that of Muhammad and ceased in the seventh century to be that of the people generally. To sum up the position in one word, Christianity became at the beginning of the fourth century the religion of the Roman Empire. Ever since it has been the religion, speaking in a broad sense, of that Empire and the races more or less incorporated within it, and of them only. Since that time its conquests have been comparatively insignificant. The crusades did not bring any large access of

converts for the cross; in modern times a sort of very corrupt Christianity has been introduced amongst the Aborigines of the new world and amongst negro slaves forcibly imported there and their descendants. Where Spaniards and Portuguese have gone as conquerors, they have forced conquered races more or less to accept Christianity, though this generally has only been a change of name and not of belief. In the last century all over the world Missionaries, both Catholics and Protestants, have succeeded in making and in obtaining a certain number of converts, in some places such as the South Seas, indeed converting whole races. But looking at affairs on the whole, progress has been very slow, and since the days that the Teutonic Knights spread Christianity by the sword in Brandenburg, Prussia, Poland and Lithuania, one cannot lay one's hands on any great national spread of Christianity. Far opposite has been the case of Muhammedanism. Within a hundred years from the day that Muhammad fled from Mecca, the Eastern part of the Byzantine Empire as well as the whole of Northern Africa changed its faith from Christianity to Muhammedanism, and so likewise Persia, converted from fire-worship, became the permanent abode of Islam. Since then, time after time it has conquered and become the national religion of great races. The Turks first of all, then the other Mongols of Central Asia, have successively become the followers of the Prophet. In the West it is even at the present day spreading over the whole of Central Africa driving out Fetishism, Cannibalism and Paganism of every sort. In India, although not the creed of the majority, it was for hundreds of years before the British became rulers of the country, the predominant political force. It has spread far and wide in the Islands of the Malay Archipelago, and even now is rapidly becoming the religion of a great part of China. Why is this, and why in particular for this is the matter which chiefly concerns us, did the Mongols become Muhammedans and not Christians. Probably during the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century there were as many Christians in Mongol lands as Muhammedans, and the Mongol relations with the children of Islam were those of incessant war. Is there something in

Muhammedanism which is not to be found in Christianity which specially appeals to the peoples of hot countries. To answer these questions it is necessary to refer to history. Christianity, as taught in the Synoptic gospels, is simple and easy to be understood. The keynote is to be found in the nearness of the Kingdom of Heaven; repentance, goodness, purity of heart, self-denial, the nobility of the human soul, such are the main doctrines taught therein. Christ's personality as a teacher and master pervades in the first three gospels everywhere; of metaphysical theology there is hardly a trace. When, however, the Apostle Paul carried the gospel of Christ from Palestine to the larger regions of the Roman Empire, when the good tidings went from the Jews to the Gentiles, in order to appeal to Greek intellect and Greek thought, they were necessarily clothed in Greek form and found Greek expression. Excessive clothing largely hid the life within, and instead of the Galilean teacher, essentially a man amongst men, though greater in goodness and purity than all others, was to be found the metaphysical conception of the Logos, the incarnate word, and with it Platonism in all its myriad modifications. Instead of history one was offered philosophy. In order to conquer the Greek mind, which in the second century of the Roman Empire was really the thinking mind of the Empire, it was, as I said, necessary for Christianity to become metaphysical. In order to conquer the Roman Empire, Christianity had to be organised as the Empire itself, and so the Christian Dogma was of Greece and Christian Administration of Rome. When Constantine made Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire, he really consecrated what had been established beforehand, *i.e.*, the Roman system of prætors and their subordinates in the Ecclesiastical world, Archbishops and Bishops and Priests taking the same place in the Church Hierarchy that Roman officials did in the state world. Athanasius sums up the beliefs of the Church in a creed purely adapted to, and appealing to Greek minds. Constantine at the Council of Nice settles the administrative rules of the religious world as he would that of a new province. So Christianity

became Roman in administration and Greek in doctrine, so as to appeal on its theoretic side to persons trained in Greek systems of thought, and on its practical side, to those brought up under the Roman methods of governing. Church Christianity never has, and never seems likely to exceed, the limits then laid down. If there is to be a Christianity of the future away from the races governed by the ideas of Greece and Rome, it can only be by a return to the elementary doctrines of the first three gospels and of a complete abandonment of the gigantic structure of doctrine and rule which saw the light in the second and third centuries of the Christian era. Now if we return to the formulæ of this Church Christianity we see how very complex they are. In this they are strongly contrasted with the simplicity of Islam. Compare the Athanasian creed with the Kalima* in the Koran. There can be no comparison as regards the greater directness, humanity, and I may say, comprehensibility of the latter. I may as well point out here that orthodox Christianity was closely connected after the time of Constantine with the existence of the Roman Empire. Orthodoxy and good feeling to the Empire went hand in hand. Arianism was combated by Roman officials as being a religion of particularism as much as it was fought as a heresy by the spiritual heads of the Catholic Church. The more Catholic the race became, the greater was its assimilation with the Roman Empire and the less its assertion of national existence. The various Christian sects which arose in the East and which were more or less driven out to the Roman Empire rapidly degenerated into something not well distinguishable from absolute Paganism. The Jacobites of the Nile and the Nestorians of the East both living beyond the pale of that Empire sank lower and lower in the scale, until between them and the Pagans amongst which they were found but little distinction could be made. Let us turn

* NOTE The Kalima is the first Sura of the Koran. It is thus translated by Sale: Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures; the most merciful the King of the day of Judgment. Thee do we worship and of Thee do we lay assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom Thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom Thou art incensed nor of those who go astray.

now from Christianity to Muhammedanism, from Alexandria, Athens and Rome to Mecca. I do not say from Jerusalem, for that town, though in the centre of the intellectual ferment of the human mind in the East, was never the centre of theological Christianity. In Palestine the Ebionite or the Gnostic was to be found; but rarely the Orthodox Christian. Jerusalem never really lowered her head to Athens or Rome; she never accepted Greco-Roman Christianity.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE paganism everywhere prevalent in Arabia had nothing to do with the paganism of Greece and Rome. It sprang from the same sources as that of other Semitic races. Of recent years the reading world has been taught by a small band of scholars how Judaism, as we know it, was itself evoked out of early Semitic paganism, how the worship of sacred trees, of high places and of elemental powers, of tribal gods (the Elohim) and a tribal god (Jehovah) preceded the Monotheism which became the corner stone of Judaism. While a part of the Hebrews had thus from Pagans became Theists, their Arabian brethren continued their old worship and till the time of Muhammad remained Pagans. Amongst them, however, was a large Jewish community, of whom a considerable number were Proselytes. The feeling of kinship between Hebrew and Arab has always been strong. The preaching of Muhammad came to the Arabs much as the preaching of one of the great prophets came to the Hebrews of old. He found a soil largely prepared. Although the mass of th people were idolators, still the leaven of Monotheism was th And this leaven, under his powerful preaching, as wa case again and again in the time of the Hebrews, temporarily leavened the whole lump. The wandering Arabs, it is known, even to this day, have not entirely given up old heathen practices. Muhammad's success, however, was greater than that of any of the Hebrew prophets. Like them, he was without honour, or a long time in his own country; but unlike them before he

died, he had become the object of veneration and affection to his fellow countrymen. His formulæ were as simple as those of Jeremiah and John the Baptist. Repentance, belief in one God, good works, these were the sum of his doctrine. In respect of social matters his teaching and that of the Christian Church differed in two important respects. These differences have largely modified the world's history and certainly have had much to do with the respective spheres of influence of the two religions. The Christian Church prohibits polygamy, permits the use of intoxicating liquors; Muhammad permitted the former, prohibited the latter. Those, who look to climate and physical environment as the main causes of institutions may explain these prohibitions and permissions by a reference to the difference in climate between Europe and Arabia. But whether this be wholly true or not, that it is partially true is undoubted, the result has been that the East accepts Muhammedanism, Europe Christianity—Muhammedanism spread over countries where polygamy had always been practised and where wine was the drink of the few. In certain countries such as parts of Persia, and in the Steppes of Central Asia, where wine has been procurable, the Prophet's injunction as to its non-use has been honoured rather in the breach than in the observance. But so in Christian Europe monogamy has as its concomitant the most extensive prostitution.

Accordingly in the East Muhammedanism had certain points greatly in its favour in its rivalry with Christianity, *viz.*, its permission of polygamy, its simplicity of creed, and its not basing itself on Greek metaphysics. Add to this that the so-called Christians of the East were not only degraded in belief and life, but were also as a community an oppressed and too often a cowardly race, having no fight of any sort in them, and the reasons seem fairly clear why the Mongols, a race of savage virile conquerors, should prefer Islam to the Christianity with which they came in contact. As in the case of any religion, however, which becomes that of a race different from that amongst which it originated, Islam, as accepted by the Mongols, has special points of difference from the Islam of the Arabs.

Perhaps the most striking point in the beliefs of the Muhammedan of Central Asia is his great respect for Khwajehs or holy men. In Arabia beyond the mausoleum of the Prophet, shrines sanctified by holy men being buried in them are few. In Persia and the Doab of the Euphrates and Tigris, they are commoner, but still they are rare and are only those of shining lights of Islam, such as the shrines at Kerbela and Meshed. But everywhere in Central Asia are to be found the tombs of the prophets and saints. Around the tomb springs up a local cult, much as in Catholic Europe there are everywhere special cults of the local patron saint. Akbar in his early days in India is ever to be found travelling, sometimes on foot, to Ajmir where was the mausoleum of the Chisti family, and to this day Muhammedans have tombs such as Nizam Uddin's at Delhi to which they make pilgrimage just as the Hindu does to his holy places. Whether this partly arises from the influence of Buddhism it is hard to say. It is certainly not a characteristic of Shamanism—the old Mongol religion.

One great point of the Mongol character is that he was not in his native steppes so bound up in his religion as other races. The Hindu, for instance, from birth until death, from morning till night, is wrapped up in ritual performance and religious (or superstitious) observance. Every meal that he eats is a religious act, every sight that he sees has some religious significance. So too is the case with the native of West Africa. But the Mongol of Central Asia, though he had his omens and dreams, his witches and witch-finders, lived on the whole free from much religious restraint. Nor has Muhammedanism caused him to be much more bound. He has accepted the Muhammedan creed; but only very partially the Muhammedan social system, which accompanied it, and his life has retained as its basis much of the social law of his own steppes, just as in Northern Europe Christianity is a faith, but has not had any great part in social customs and life, indeed save so far as it has harmonised with the life it found existing.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

From the Sack of Delhi by Taimur to the Battle of Paniput.

The darkest period of the Muhammedan rule in Delhi was from A.D. 1393 to A.D. 1526. After its sack all the riches which had been stored up in that capital were gone, and most of the citizens, the people who had made the city what it was, had been carried off by the conqueror. Those who had not been so carried away were dispersed and did not return to Delhi, for instead of this city remaining the capital of India, it sunk to being the head-quarters of a Princelet. Rulers there were in Delhi indeed throughout the fifteenth century but their rule did not stand comparison as regards extent of territory ruled over or strength of administration with that of other Indian powers. I have already stated that after this invasion we find that for many years almost the only coinage coined in the Delhi Mint was of copper. The gold and silver had seemingly almost entirely disappeared.

To the self-complacent conqueror's mind he was the first of Muhammedans carrying on war against infidels. But to the Indian Muhammedan he appeared in a very different light. The Hindu Rulers in Upper India save in Rajputana were not at the time above the rank of petty feudal chiefs, and a defeat of a few of them had little effect on Hinduism in India. But the sack of Delhi and the overthrow of the one great Muhammedan Kingdom of Hindustan wrought much harm to Indian Muhammedanism. No wonder then that warriors fighting against Taimur are given the rank of martyrs by the Indian Muhammedan historians.

During the two months that followed Taimur's departure, the neighbourhood of Delhi and all those territories over which his armies had passed were visited with pestilence (*waba**) and famine.

Thereafter Ikbal Khan, an Indian Muhammedan nobleman—Sultan Mahmud, the titular sovereign, had fled to Gujarat—took upon himself the Government of Delhi, and in a short time Siyi, one of its three forts, began to be populated again. In A.D. 1401 the fugitive Sultan Mahmud returned and again became nominal ruler. He was, however, but a faineant king, ever in the hand of some master of the Palace, and so little respect did he get that when Ikbal Khan, the then real ruler of Delhi, took him along with him to fight Sultan Ibrahim, the ruler of Jaunpore, we are told "When the two armies were near to each other and the battle was imminent, Sultan Mahmud left the army of Ikbal Khan on the pretence of hunting and went to join Sultan Ibrahim, but Ibrahim paid him not the slightest attention, so he departed and went to the district of Kanouj. At Kanouj all ranks of people joined the Sultan and the scattered guards and dependants rallied round him.† The Sultan himself was content with this district." After Ikbal Khan's death in battle in 1405 A.D. a deputation came to Sultan Mahmud asking him to take up the Government of Delhi again. This he did, and shortly after Kanouj fell into the hands of the ruler of Jaunpore. The rest of Sultan Mahmud's reign is one of confused warfare. We read in the Tarik-i-Mubarik Shahi, "The whole business of the State had fallen into the greatest disorder: the Sultan gave no heed to the duties of his station and had no care for the permanency of the throne ;‡ his whole time was devoted to pleasure and debauchery." In 1412 A.D. he died and with him came to an end the house of Tughlak.

After his death a Pathan nobleman, Doulat Khan Lodi, became ruler for a short time, but soon gave place to Khizr Khan, whom Indian historians name as the founder of the Sayid dynasty. Three feeble rulers succeeded one another at Delhi, the last Sayid king ceasing to reign in 1450 A.D. The

* NOTE.—The word *waba* is used by Muhammedan historians for the disease known to us as plague.

† Elliott, Vol. IV. p. 39. ‡ Elliott, Vol. V, p. 43.

boundaries of the kingdom were somewhere about Biana (near the modern Agra) on the South, the Ganges on the East and the Sutlej on the West. Everywhere the Hindus had profited by Taimur's invasion. Gwalior had fallen into their hands, not to be retaken till the next century. Katehr, modern Rohilkund, became entirely Hindu. Muhammedan historians in hyperbolic paragraphs tell us of great triumphs of Islam militant, of wholesale defeat of the Hindu infidels, but the truth is that the latter had never since Muhammad Ghori's invasion at the end of the twelfth century been so strong. Temporary raids by Muhammedan rulers might succeed, but permanent conquests there were none. The author of the Tarik-i-Mubarik Shahi states of Sayid Khizr Khan, the founder of the Sayid dynasty which succeeded the Tughlak, that one proof of his being a Sayid was that he was generous, brave, merciful, considerate, true to his word and kind. Sayids are descendants of the Prophet through Fatima, his daughter. I am afraid the title is often taken by those who have but little right to the name. The author just mentioned says that the virtues which Sayid Khizr Khan is stated to have had were conspicuous in the Prophet. This is true enough, and although the theory of hereditary qualities may be pressed too far, it is no doubt that many of the Sayids in India as well as elsewhere were and are men of the highest quality. In afterdays the Sayids of Baraha (in the Punjab) will be found as the leading warriors of Islam in many a hard fought fight. Khizr Khan died in 1421 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Mubarak Shah

CHAPTER II.

Mubarak Shah reigned from 1421 to 1433. During his reign the boundary of the Delhi Kingdom stretched to the South not further than Gwalior and Etawah. On the East it was bounded by the newly-founded kingdom of Jaunpore in which was comprised nearly the whole of modern Oudh; over the Punjab and the Subah of Mooltan its hold was but slight. Indeed, even round about Delhi, the King seemed to have but comparatively

little power and had constantly to journey hither and thither to collect arrears of revenue. Taimur's invasion and constant raids by local rulers had brought Lahore to such a state of ruin that when the Sultan entered it in the year 1421, "no living thing except the owl of ill omen had its abode there." The King's two chief enemies were Jusrath Khokha (a Khakkar) of the Upper Punjab and Sheikh Ali, one of the nobles of Shah Rukh, son of Taimur, reigning at Kabul. The historian in common with most Indian Muhammedans looked on the Moghuls as no better than infidels. In one place he writes* "Sheikh Ali then gave his cursed followers permission to take possession of the fort of Tulamba near Mooltan. Next day all the Mussalmans became prisoners of the unclean ruthless infidels. Although many good men of the place were Imams, Saiyids and Kazis, no respect for the Mussalman religion, no fear of God, could restrain that accursed wretch, devoid alike of feeling and shame. Women, youths and little children were all dragged to his house. Some of the men were killed and some were set at liberty." And then again† "next day the accursed Sheikh Ali made all the Mussulmans of the city of Lahore, both men and women, prisoners. This wretched graceless fellow had no better occupation or object than to lay waste the seats of Islam and to make Mussulmans captive" The Sultan's own life seems to have been alternately spent in roaming about the country in search of revenue and fighting with his enemies, or in dissipations at his capital. Like many of his Mussulman predecessors he determined to build a city of his own and accordingly laid the foundation of a town he named Mobarakabad. The Mussulman historian punning on the word says that Mobarakabad should have been Kharababad (the city of evil instead of blessing). It was during the construction of this town (not far from the modern Delhi) that he met with his death. Sarwarul Mulk, one of his chiefs, had been both Dewan and Vazir. The King had thought fit to take the office of Dewan from him, in revenge for which he arranged his sovereign's murder. The Sultan was slain at Mobarakabad where

* Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 73. † Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 76.

he was watching over the progress of the building by a number of hired murderers. Khizr Khan's grandson Muhammad Bin Farid Shah was put on the throne in his place. The Vazir did not long survive his victim as the King whom he put up as a puppet conspired against him and after a short time got together a party stronger than that standing by Sarwarul Mulk. The consequence was the latter's death and the assumption of rule by Muhammad Bin Farid. His inglorious reign lasted for ten years. On every side his nobles set up as independent sovereigns on their own behalf. He himself was quite happy dissipating in Delhi. On his death Sultan Ala Uddin, grandson of Mubarak Shah, ascended the throne. He was but the shadow of a shadow. After a nominal reign of seven years he quite contentedly abandoned the throne and settled in Budaon. In his place Buhlol Lodi, the most powerful chief in the kingdom and the Viceroy of the Punjab, sat on the throne of Dehli. With his reign the stage of the absolute degradation of Delhi came to an end, and during his reign and the reign of his two successors (the three are known as the Lodi dynasty), the fortunes of Delhi began little by little to rise from the absolutely nothing to which they had sunk.

CHAPTER III.

Lodi is the name of an Afghan family, the members of which have for centuries been warriors and rulers in India. Buhlol Lodi, the founder of the dynasty, was himself a relation of Sultan Shah Lodi, a Jagirdar of Sirhind. It is said that he first made his fortune in trade. One of the kings of Delhi assigned a Jagir to him in payment of a bill for horses which seems to have been the foundation of his subsequent success.

In the Tarik-i-Khan Jahan Lodi we hear the following story : —

" Malik Buhlol went to see a Darwesh who made predictions. He was accompanied by his two intimate friends, and after having treated the Darwesh with every courtesy, sat down. That person, who was abstracted from worldly thoughts, asked 'if any

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one of them was able to buy the Kingdom of Delhi from him for 2,000 tankahs.'* Malik Buhlol had 1,300 tankahs in his purse, which he took out and placed before the saint and said: 'This is all I possess.' That worthy person consented to accept the sum so proferred and said: 'May the Empire of Delhi be fortunate to you.' When his two associates began to ridicule his superstition, Malik Buhlol said: 'One of two things must happen: if the event be successful I shall have made a good bargain; if not, in the day of judgment there are rewards for good deeds done to darweshes.'"

His rival to the supreme authority in the time of Sultan Ala Uddin was one Hamid Khan, the King's Vizir. We are told the following story as to how he managed to turn Hamid Khan out of private life and seize the supreme power for himself:—

† "One day Hamid Khan gave a grand entertainment, and invited many nobles as his guests. Sultan Buhlol, who was one of the party, had instructed his Afghans to behave in a foolish and indecorous manner during Hamid Khan's feast, so that he might look on them as a set of idiots, and ceasing to regard them with any apprehension, might pay no further attention to them. When the Afghans went into Hamid Khan's presence, they acted in an unusual and strange manner. Some fastened their shoes to their girdles, some placed their shoes in a recess above Hamid Khan's head. Hamid Khan inquired what this meant. They answered: 'We are taking precautions against thieves.' After a short time the Afghans said to Hamid Khan: 'Your carpet is wonderfully coloured; if you give us each a blanket from it we will send it as a rarity to our native land of Roh, to make caps for our children that the inhabitants of the world may know that we are in the service of Hamid Khan and are treated with much dignity, honor and respect.' Hamid Khan smiled and said in reply: 'I will make you presents of the most costly articles for rarities.' And as they were bringing round trays containing perfumes, the Afghans licked the scent bottles, and ate the flowers.

* Elliott, Vol. V, p. 72. † Elliott, Vol. V, pp. 76-77

"This note is a slip. The Sura quoted is the Fateha: the Kalimas, for they are more than one, are the Muhammedan professions of faith; they are marked by extreme simplicity."

They opened the leaves which covered the pan. First they ate the lime, and when this had heated their mouths they chewed the pan afterwards, and in other respects conducted themselves in an extraordinary manner. Hamid Khan asked Malik Buhlol: 'Why do they act thus?' He replied: 'They are a set of clowns, and have associated but little with men; they only know how to eat and die.' It became Buhlol's custom to bring some of these men whenever he went to see Hamid Khan; but the greater portion of his attendants remained standing without. On one occasion, when Hamid Khan was feasting Malik Buhlol, the Afghans, in obedience to secret instructions received from Malik Buhlol, beat the door-keepers and forced their way in saying: 'We are all likewise servants of Hamid Khan; why should we be prevented from coming to salute him?' When a tumult and disturbance had arisen, Hamid Khan asked the reasons of it. They, as they were entering, abused Malik Buhlol, and said to the minister 'We are just as much your servants as he is; he comes in, and should not we?' When Hamid Khan directed that they should be admitted, the Afghans crowded in, and two of them placed themselves near every servant of Hamid Khan. When the eating part of the entertainment was over, and many of Hamid Khan's men had gone out, Kutb Khan Lodi drew forth a chain from his bosom, and laid it before Hamid Khan saying: 'The best thing for you will be to retire for a short time from public life. As I have eaten your salt, I do not intend to put you to death.' After this he caused Hamid Khan to be seized, and gave him in charge to his officers."

Thus Malik Buhlol took possession of Delhi, without hindrance or opposition. His reign lasted for 37 years from 1451 to 1488, and seems to have been prosperous. His character is very favourably estimated by Ferishta who says: "Buhlol Lodi was estimated a virtuous and a mild Prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as companions than subjects. When he obtained the crown he divided the public treasure among his friends, and could be seldom prevailed on to ascend the throne, saying: 'That it was enough

for him that the world knew he was King without his making a display of royalty.' He was extremely temperate in his diet, and seldom ate at home. Though a man of no great literary acquirements himself, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merits. He placed great reliance on the courage of his Moghul troops, on which account they met with such encouragement among his relations and courtiers that it is estimated there were nearly 20,000 Moghuls in the service of the Government during his reign. He was a wise and brave Prince and personally well acquainted with Muhammedan Law. He also studied the best institutes for maintaining order in his Government, which he invariably adopted. He was prudent, and, above all things, deprecated hurrying matters of State; and indeed, his conduct throughout life sufficiently evinced how much he practised this quality."*

His life as King was chiefly spent in constant conflict with the kingdom of Jaunpore known as the Eastern Kingdom. Roughly speaking the dividing line between the two powers of Jaunpore and Delhi was the Ganges. It would be unprofitable to go into the endless wars described in the histories of the times. Suffice it to say that after much fighting the Jaunpore King was conquered, and a relation of the King named Barbak made ruler of Jaunpore.

It is of interest to note the great influence which the queen mothers of Jaunpore had over their sons' kingdom. Indeed, one of the most persistent facts to be noticed throughout the history of all Muhammedan Rulers in India is to note the enormous influence which their female relations, generally their wives and mothers, have had over the conduct of the Rulers. Their influence, I may say, has hardly ever been exercised for good, and under the Harem system it is very difficult to conceive how it can be. Ignorant as such women must be, living out of the world, even if they had the best intentions, which they generally have not, their ideas and plans are necessarily based largely on imaginary whims. The sanctity of the Harem has been a standing feature of original life as far

* Elliott. Vol. IV, pp. 91-92.

back as the days of Darius, the enemy of Alexander ; and Eastern Monarchs, who have had little scruple at violating everything else have often hesitated to violate its sacredness.

Besides Ferishta, Abdulla in his Tarik-i-Daudi gives Malik Buhlol the highest of character. He says :* "Sultan Buhlol was, indeed, a king who fostered religion, and evinced courage and generosity. His mercy and benevolence were habitual : he observed the rules of honesty, and had exceeding respect for the law, to the injunctions of which he strictly adhered in all his undertakings. He spent most of his time in the assemblies of the wise and in the society of holy men and made special inquiries respecting the poor and necessitous. He never turned away a suppliant ; and he read his prayers in public five times every day. He devoted excessive care to the administration of justice ; himself heard the petitions of his subjects and left them not to be disposed of by his ministers. He was wise, experienced, considerate, kind, friendly, condescending and just. Whatever came into his possession, in money, goods, or new parganas, he distributed it all among his troops, and reserved nothing whatever for himself. He accumulated no treasure, and executed his kingly functions without parade and ostentation. At the time of his meals he satisfied himself with farinaceous food ; but any one who entered might partake of other viands. In his social meetings he never sat on a throne, and would not allow his nobles to stand, and even during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself upon a carpet. Whenever he wrote a *furman* to his nobles, he addressed them as 'Masnad Ali,' and if at any time they were displeased with him, he tried so hard to pacify them that he would himself go to their houses, ungird his sword from his waist, and place it before the offended party : nay, he would sometimes even take off his turban from his head, and solicit forgiveness, saying : 'If you think me unworthy of the station I occupy choose some one else, and bestow on me some other office.' He maintained a brotherly intercourse with all his chiefs and soldiers. If any one was ill, he would himself go

* Elliott, Vol. IV, pp. 136-137.

and attend on him. Before he ascended the throne, it was the custom in Dehli to distribute, every third day, *sherbat*, pan leaves, sugarcandy and sweetmeats. But Sultan Buhlol put an end to this, and positively declined to maintain the practice, observing that, with respect of Afghans, if one poor man should die, a hundred thousand of his tribe would come forward, and how could he provide for such a multitude, and satisfy them? He was exceedingly bold, and on the day of battle, immediately he saw the enemy appear, he would dismount from his horse, fall on his knees, and pray for the success of Islam and the safety of Mussalmans, and confess his own helplessness. From the day that he became King, no one achieved a victory over him; nor did he once leave the field of battle until he had gained the day, or been carried off wounded: or, from the first he avoided an engagement."

CHAPTER IV.

AFTER Buhlol Lodi came Sultan Sikander. Before his accession to the throne he was called Nizam Khan. A curious story told of him is to be found in Elliott's translation of Tarik-i-Daudi. It runs as follows: —

*"Sheikh Hasan, the grandson of Sheikh 'Abu Lala, whose memory is revered in Rapri, was captivated by his appearance. This Sheikh was one of the most distinguished men of the period One winter day, Prince Nizam Khan was sitting in his private chamber, when Sheikh Hasan was seized with a desire of beholding him, and he found no difficulty in reaching him, on account of the respect in which men of his pure mode of life are held. Sultan Sikander was much astonished at seeing him enter, and asked him how he had come in without permission in spite of the door-keepers. The Sheikh answered: 'You know best how and when I came:' The Sultan said: 'You consider yourself fond of me?' He said: 'I cannot hinder myself from being so.' The Sultan ordered him to come forward: he did so, and there was a stove before the Sultan: the Sultan placed his hand on the Sheikh's

* Elliott, Vol. IV p. 438

head, and pressed it towards the burning coals; notwithstanding which, the Sheikh did not make the slightest movement or resistance. They remained in this position for a short time, when Mubarak Khan Lohani arrived: he wondered much at what he saw, and asked who that person (the Sheikh) was. The Sultan replied that it was Sheikh Hasan. Mubarak Khan said: 'O man who fearest not God, what are you doing? Sheikh Hasan has suffered no damage or injury from the fire; tremble, lest you yourself should.' The Sultan said: 'He calls himself my admirer.' Mubarak Khan answered: 'You ought to be thankful for his doing so, and that you are pleasing in the sight of so holy a man: if you would obtain felicity in this world and the next, obey him.' Prince Nizam Khan then withdrew his hand from the Sheikh's neck; and everyone saw that, notwithstanding the dreadful heat of the fire, neither the face nor hair of the Sheikh had been injured. In spite of all this, the Sultan ordered the Sheikh to be chained, neck and foot, and cast into a dungeon. This was also done; and a week afterwards they informed Sultan Sikander that Sheikh Hasan was dancing in the bazar; he ordered him to be seized and brought before him. When he came into the presence, the Sultan said to him: 'You call yourself my admirer; why have you escaped from the captivity in which I placed you? Sheikh Hasan answered: 'I did not do so of my own accord; my grandfather, Sheikh Abu Lala, led me forth by the hand.' The Sultan ordered the room in which the Sheikh had been confined to be inspected; the door was opened, and the chains found lying on the ground; and the Sheikh had, nevertheless, been found dancing in the bazar. Thenceforth the Sultan did not treat the Sheikh with disrespect."

The same author tells us that this Sultan desired to make a wholesale massacre of the Hindoos who had assembled at the great fair at Thaneswar. One of his courtiers requested him to consult the learned men, and on his doing so, he was told that such a course would be exceedingly improper; thereupon he ungraciously yielded. Wonderful stories are told, as may be expected, of his bravery.

The Tarik-i-Daudi describes his character in the following words :—

*"Sultan Sikander was a most illustrious monarch and of a benevolent disposition; he was famous for his liberality, honour and politeness; he had no affection for pomp and ceremonies, and cared not for processions and magnificent dresses. No one who was profligate or a bad character had access to him; he always associated with men of religion and the virtuous, and was both inwardly pious and outwardly handsome; he did not give way to his desires, and was exceedingly God-fearing and benevolent to the people. He was very just and courageous, his equity beheld the weak and the strong with the same eye, and he was constantly employed in balancing evidence, deciding suits, arranging the affairs of the Empire, and trying to render his subjects happy; he personally assisted the wretched. After the afternoon prayer, he went into an assembly of Mullas, and then read the Holy Book. After being present at public prayer and the conclusion of the evening thanksgiving, he was in the habit of going to the Harem, where he remained an hour He then proceeded to his private chamber, where he seated himself, and remained awake the entire night, but slept at midday. He generally preferred the night for listening to the petitions of the needy; he also devoted a portion of it to regulating the affairs of the Empire, and in causing *farmans* to be written to the governors of provinces and letters to the monarchs of the time. Seventeen learned men of tried merit were constantly with him in his private apartment. After midnight he was in the habit of calling for food, when these seventeen learned men, after washing their hands, seated themselves in front of the Sultan, who was himself seated on his couch. A large chair was then brought close to the bed, and the different dishes being placed on it the Sultan commenced eating; food was also placed before the seventeen companions, who were, however, forbidden to partake of it in his presence. When the King had finished they carried their plates away to their houses and ate there. Some writers

* Elliott, Vol. IV, pp. 445—446.

assert that His Majesty in order to keep himself in health, was then in the habit of secretly drinking wine."

He is said to have founded mosques throughout his dominion and to have gathered together a large number of wise men to his Capital Agra (this is the first time in history we read of this town being the capital of the Delhi Kingdom). The annual procession of the spear of Salar Masud* was abolished by him throughout his dominion. Women were also forbidden to make pilgrimages to tombs, and we also read that he put a stop to the Moharram Tazia processions, which, although nominally Muhammedan, are really associated with older Pagan worship.

Barbak Shah, who had been made by Sikander's father, Malik Buhlol, the King of Jaunpore, more than once rebelled against Mubarak Shah. In one of the battles between the two a Kalendar appeared and promised victory to Sikander. The latter turning away with disgust, the Kalendar enquired the reason only, whereupon the Sultan said: "When there is strife between two parties of the religion of Islam, you ought not to side with one, but to say that the victory will remain with those whose success will produce the greatest benefit to religion, and you ought to solicit the Almighty to grant victory to him who will treat the servants of the Lord best." Such sentiments quoted by a courtly historian—all historians in the East are more or less of this nature—can only raise a smile. History is full, however, not only Indian history, but European history too of fine speeches of this sort. Barbak Shah became a prisoner of Sikander's and the Kingdom of Jaunpore came to an end. Sultan Hussain Shaki, one of the leaders of the revolt in Jaunpore, finally fled to Lakhunauti in Bengal, and both the kingdoms of Jaunpore and Behar fell into Mubarak's hands. In one of the Sultan's expeditions we learn that one of his reasons for not advancing further with a campaign was that opium and poppy-heads had become excessively dear. We recommend this reason to those who think that the eating of opium is a hateful vice

* *Note.*—Salar Masud was a Muhammedan Ghazi, who was killed fighting against Hindus near Bahraich in the 11th century. Hindus, as well as Muhammedans, visit his tomb and commemorate his death by processions.

introduced by the English. Other wars of Mubarak's led to the conquest of Biana, Chanderi, Dholpur. At his death the Delhi Empire had again become the foremost in the Upper India, but still it was only one among several. Malwa and Gujarat in the South, Bengal in the East were Muhammedan kingdoms in many ways more prosperous, and two out of the three were richer than Delhi itself. But still then as ever Delhi was the real seat of Empire. He who held Delhi and the Highway from the North-West held potentially if not actually India. Stories of Mobarak Shah's justice are to be found. One such is told in the Tarik-i-Daudi thus :—

* "One day a Sayid from the district of Ardal which is twenty or thirty kos from Panna on the Agra side, sought redress, because Mian Malik, the Jagirdar of that Pargana, had resumed his land, and withheld it from him. The Sultan commanded Mian Bhua to inquire into the matter and make known who was in the right. This dispute lasted two months, after which period the Sultan asked: 'What has happened to you that you cannot settle this affair? Until it is answered let no one leave the Court to-day.' Mian Malik, the Vazir's diwan, and the Ulama, discussed the matter until the third watch of the night, and accounts of what they were doing were constantly sent to the Sultan until the case was determined, and the right discovered to be on the Sayid's side who had been oppressed. The Sulta directed Mian Malik to be asked why he had disobeyed the Sultan's orders by tyrannising over the weak and resuming tenures granted for religious and charitable purposes which he had expressly reserved in all jagir grants. Mian Malik being ashamed hung down his head, and said: 'I have committed a fault.' He was then obliged to repeat this three times, 'Malik is guilty and a tyrant and the Sayid is an oppressed person.' When he had said this three times, the Sultan said: 'You have been disgraced in the hall of justice, and that is punishment.' He then had his jagir taken from him, and he never received another as long as he lived."

* Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 454.

Stories are also told of his and his nobles' generosity. Most of these seem to us Westerns pure acts of folly. Easterns judge what we consider senseless extravagance, as showing great-heartedness. It is useless to argue on such matters. Then as now, and as in the future, the East is still the East and the West is still the West.

In July 1505 a dreadful earthquake took place at Agra. This place is well out of the ordinary Indian earthquake zone, we have no chronicles of the time to tell us what happened in the Himalaya and other hills when Agra suffered so much. Only a small part of human misery and of the destruction brought to man by nature is known, and it is well that it should be so. No human power can strike so hard and so remorselessly as nature herself does, and nowhere is this better known than in the glowing East.

Sikander by the time of his death had practically given the old Delhi Empire in its old boundaries. In the South-East his rule stretched to the borders of Bengal; close to Agra, his capital, he held Dholpur and Chanderi; the Punjab recognised his power, and on the South his rule extended well into hilly Bundelkund. This was the normal extent of Delhi sovereignty prior to the Moghul rule. Bengal which had been under Muhammedan rulers from the beginning of the thirteenth century more or less, had been a separate kingdom from the days of its original conquest Rajputana had never submitted to Moslem yoke. In the East, Muhammedan rule never till the days of Akbar extended beyond the Kosi River and the Muhammedan kingdoms of the Deccan, Gujarat and Malwa had no connection from their foundation with the Delhi Padshahate, though from time to time the Delhi Emperors made efforts more or less ineffectual to conquer them. But although externally the kingdom was restored internally the fabric was hollow. As to this Erskine writes: * "These extensive possessions, however, though under one king, had no very strong principle of cohesion. The monarchy was a congeries of nearly independent principalities,

* Erskine, Vol. I, p. 406.

jagirs and provinces, each ruled by a hereditary chief or by a zemindar or delegate from Delhi, and the inhabitants looked more to their immediate governors, who had absolute power in the province and in whose hands consequently lay their happiness or misery than to a distant and little known sovereign. It was the individual not the law that reigned. The Lodi princes, not merely to strengthen their own power, but from necessity, had in general committed the government of the province, and the chief offices of trust, to their own countrymen, the Afghans; so that men of the Lodi, Fermula and Lohana tribes, held all the principal jagirs, which from the habitual modes of thinking of their race, they considered as their own of right, and purchased by their swords rather than as due to any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign." Add to these sentiments of the Muhammedan clan leaders, the dislike in which Sikander was held by the Hindus, a dislike necessarily caused by his policy, for he was an idol breaker and a Kafir persecutor, and one has all the elements of instability. In the East a dynasty rarely gets its roots very deep into national life. A small push and over it goes. Such was the case with the Lodi dynasty. It came to an end in the reign of the next King Sikander's son, Ibrahim; like a house of cards, a slight push and over it went hopelessly and entirely. But only I may say the dynasty. The rule by the heads of the tribes; the decentralising influences in India described above by Erskine corresponding roughly to European feudalism was much harder to overthrow. It was only in the reign of Akbar that after many struggles it was overthrown; and within a century of such overthrow again it raised its head, only to be finally brought into subjection by the strong hand of the British Raj.

Sikander died in A.D. 1517, and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, the last of the Lodi dynasty. Abdulla, author of the Tarik-i-Daudi, tells us that in his time all the necessaries of life were in great abundance: "One of the most extraordinary phenomena of Sultan Ibrahim's time was that corn, clothes and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been

known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultan Ala Uddin Khilji; but even that is doubtful. Moreover, in the time of the latter, the cheapness was occasioned by every kind of disgusting interference and oppression and by a hundred thousand enforcements and punishments; whereas the cheapness of this reign was occasioned by abundant harvests. In the time of Sikander also, the markets were very cheap, but still not so much as in time of Ibrahim. Ten maunds of corn could be purchased for one buhloli; five seers of clarified butter and ten yards of cloth could be purchased for the same coin. Everything else was in the same exuberance; the reason of all which was that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently luxuriant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion. The Sultan likewise issued an edict that his chiefs and nobles of every degree should take nothing but corn in payment of rent, and no money was to be taken from the cultivators on any account. The consequence was that countless quantities of grain accumulated in the several jagirs, and as ready money was only necessary for maintaining the personal expenses of the nobles, they were eager to sell their grain at any price which was procurable. The abundance of God's blessings reached such a height that ten maunds of corn would sell for a buhloli. Gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty. A respectable man with a family dependent on him might obtain wages at the rate of five tankahs a month, a horseman received from twenty to thirty as his monthly pay. If a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi-Agra, one buhloli would with the greatest ease suffice for the expenses for himself, his horse and escort.

This abundance had nothing to do with good government. The whole history of Ibrahim's reign as told by Muhammedan historians is nothing but a series of internal contests, occasioned in almost all cases by Ibrahim's suspicions and cruelty. In a

*_Note._—Thomas's note, page 359, and following of his Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, does not help us very much with these buhlolis and tankahs.

* Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 475.

large country like India, much as in modern Russia, the folly of the rulers, unless coupled with a grinding system of taxation, has but little influence over the happiness or wretchedness of the mass of the people. No amount of oppression at the head-quarters either of the sovereign or of the local government can cause so much misery as universal oppressive imposts. Pope's lines concerning the small part of the ills endured by mankind which kings can either make or cure is not a complete statement of the truth. Acts of tyranny by rulers usually do not spread their baneful influence far; but a wrong fiscal system, the gabelle in France to take a notable instance, crushes the heart out of a country and causes a large part of the ills of human life. I have said that the Muhammedan historians lay the incessant revolts of Ibrahim's reign to the door of his tyranny. But one must remember that these historians wrote after the Lodi dynasty fell, and one must also remember the character of the Delhi rule, as described by Erskine. A series of feudatory chiefs, all more or less struggling for independence on the one hand, and on the other a strong Prince, for there seems to have been no doubt that Ibrahim was a strong Prince and the result, especially when one remembers that the political morality of the age was summed up in doing as much harm to your rival as possible, for otherwise your rival would do as much harm as he could to you, was inevitable that endless trouble should ensue. Louis the XI comes triumphant out of such a strife partly on account of his character, and partly because France was tired of the endless feudal tyranny that prevailed in it in the fifteenth century; but Ibrahim was no Louis the XI, and Hindustan was no France. Ibrahim's first opponent was his own brother Jalal Khan, who on his father's death became the ruler of Jaunpore. Whether Ferishta, who says that he was put on the throne at Jaunpore by disaffected Lodi nobles or the author of the Tarik-i-Salatin Afghana, who says he was sent from Delhi to take possession of the Eastern Kingdom be correct, it is certain that the brothers never lived in amity with each other. Ibrahim first of all tried treachery; sending Haibat Khan (the wolf slayer), seemingly the Achitophel of the

time, to induce Jalal Khan to visit him at Delhi. The latter, however, over-acted his part and failed; war then broke out between the brothers. Jalal Khan's cause so far advanced that at one time he was able to lay siege to Agra; but there he was fooled by Malik Adam, the governor, who persuaded him to resign all claims to the Empire and to content himself with the Subah of Kalpi. His best friends then left him; his brother, according to the ordinary standard of Oriental high policy, declined to give him the Subah which he had been promised; and after various adventures he was finally seized by some Gonds, a hill tribe of Central India, and handed over to the Sultan's officers. After having been brought to the Royal Court in order that he might be fully identified, for there have been plenty of Perkin Warbecks in the East, he was put to death.

Ibrahim got rid of his father's chief minister by the following ingenious device :—

Certain nobles, who were envious of the Mian, counselled the King to erect a building with a subterranean chamber beneath it. When two months had elapsed, and the chamber was thoroughly dry, they filled it with bags of gunpowder. They then procured the release of Mian Bhua and certain other nobles against whom they were plotting, gave them dresses of honour and money, and treated them with such kindness that they banished all apprehension from their minds. One day the King said to them: * "Islam Khan was raised from the dust, and kindly treated by Sultan Sikander; but he had since become apprehensive, and has rebelled and proclaimed open enmity. I pray you to retire to the new house which I have built, sit there and deliberate amongst yourselves what course I ought to follow I have such confidence in you that I am certain the conclusion you come to will be of benefit to me." They went unsuspiciously to the place, and commenced their consultation. Suddenly the whole place was blown up, and Mian Bhua and all who were there present were scattered as leaves of trees by a gale of wind.

* Elliott, Vol. V, p. 14.

His contemporary of England, Henry the VIII, could not employ the Oriental's methods in order to get himself rid of his father's hated ministers, Empson and Dudley. He had to have recourse to the strong hand of the law. Such in essence is much of the difference between the West and the East. In the West at this time tyranny was everywhere rife; but wherever exercised, it always hid itself under the decorous cover of legal forms, while in the East it stood unabashed; at the outside sheltering itself under some text of the Koran forcibly wrenched out the sacred book to show the fate of the wicked (all chiefs indeed might safely be predicated as wicked in those days).

Ibrahim's most obdurate enemy was Rana Sanga, the chief Rajput ruler of the time, concerning whom I shall say more when I reach the reign of Baber. More than one of the Delhi suspected chiefs accompanied a great expedition into the Rana's country. The Sultan gave orders to Mian Makhun Khan Khanum Farmuli, the Commander-in-Chief, to seize two of the principal of these, Mian Hasan Khan and Mian Maruf Khan, the best way he could and to send them prisoners to him. More than once Mian Makhun tried to do so, but each time he was foiled by these chiefs who had suspected the Sultan's intentions. Finally, one of them Mian Hasan Khan joined Rana Sanga, Mian Maruf refusing to do so, but holding himself apart. But after a battle in which the Delhi troops were defeated though Mian Hasan took no part in it, he again joined the Imperial Army, having treacherously before doing so turned on the troops of the Rajputs who had sheltered him. Such is the story told by Ahmad Yadgar.

It is discredited indeed by Elliott, but seems probable enough. Anyhow, Mian Hasan did not escape from his master, who finally had him murdered at Chanderi. The assassin was rewarded with seven hundred gold pieces by the grateful Sultan as well as by a gift of ten villages in inam (rent free), a circumstance which, as Elliott remarks, is calculated to give us a high idea of the origin of rent-free holdings. Ibrahim's chief and most faithful councillor, so says the historian, was Azam Humayun. He too fell a victim to his master's suspicions. While at the head of an

army operating against Gwalior, a fort which many Muhammedan rulers tried to capture but seem never to have succeeded in doing, though they on several occasions seized the lower town, he was duly recalled to Delhi. At a short distance from that town he was met by the King's cup-bearer who deprived him of all that he had, mounted him on a small pony and cast him into a dungeon. He seems to have made no resistance. A dungeon and a grave in the East are practically synonymous, and shortly after being thrown in prison he met his doom.

Having got rid of the chiefs about his Court, Ibrahim tried similarly to destroy the great feudal chieftains within his territories. The principal of these was Doulat Khan Lodi, the ruler of the Punjab. Being called to Court he sent his youngest son Dilawar Khan in his place. The latter was asked why his father had not come in person. He replied that he would come hereafter and bring treasure with him. He was told that if his father did not come he would be seized like the other nobles. The Sultan then ordered him to be taken to the dungeons, in order that he might see several nobles who were suspended from the walls. When Dilawar Khan witnessed this sight, he was seized with a fit of trembling, and was much alarmed. On his return to the presence, the Sultan said : "You have seen the condition of those who had disobeyed me." Dilawar Khan prostrated himself. It is said the Sultan intended to blind him with a red-hot bodkin, and suspend him also against the wall ; but when Dilawar Khan perceived that there was no other means of escaping the Sultan's severity, he fled from Delhi, came to his father in six days, and told him that if he did not look to himself, the Sultan would put him to death in some cruel manner.

Thereupon, much as the English nobility did, when Richard the III was king, he determined to call in help from outside. He sent his son Dilawar Khan to invite Baber the Moghul (or Chagatai Turk as he should be really named) to invade India. Baber accepted the invitation, came to India, and after the decisive battle of Paniput, at which Ibrahim was killed, became the founder of the great dynasty of Emperors known to history as the Moghul Emperors of Delhi. How he did all this will be found in the next part of this work.

PART III.

BABER.

CHAPTER I.

AFTER Taimur's death his enormous Empire was more or less split up. Samarkand with the whole of Transoxiana came into the hands of his son Shahrukh Mirza, who reigned till A.D. 1446. He was succeeded by his son Ulugh Beg, who had already been four years governor of the city of Samarkand, and who was far-famed as an astronomer and patron of astronomers. This Prince's reign was short. His son rose in revolt against him and put him to death in A.D. 1449, a crime reprobated even in the East, where murders of one's relations have been ever too common. The rest of Taimur's dominion in Western Asia retained for a time by the other branches of the family, little by little only did the Osmanli Turks recover what they had lost, and the century had com to an end before Persia became finally separated from the house of Taimur and ruled by a national dynasty. Out of the states constituting Taimur's Empire, the kingdom of Khorasan, of which Herat was the chief town, became the most prosperous, alike on account of its agriculture, and on account of the culture and riches of its capital.

Baber, the first of the Moghul Rulers of India, was descended from Mirza Miranshah, third son of Taimur, whose only son Abusaid was defeated and killed in Ardebil, a place from which subsequently the Persian Royal Family sprang. He perished with the greater part of his army in one of the many battles fought between the various Turcoman hordes who had settled down in Persia. The greatness of the slaughter in this fight made a marked impression on Western Asia, and it was long remembered as the calamity of Irak. Mirza Umar, the father of Baber and the fourth son of Abusaid, obtained as his share of the paternal dominion the country of Ferganah or Andijan lying on both sides of the upper course of the river Jaxartes, chiefly on the

southern side. It was in the capital of this kingdom that Baber was born. In order to understand his career, it is well to remember certain facts as regards the position of this kingdom of Ferganah. It stands in pretty much the same latitude as Central Italy, but instead of being near a temperate sea giving an equitable climate, it is in the very centre of an enormous continent. The Caspian and Aral seas, remains of a once mighty ocean, have but little influence on the climate of lands at any distance from them, and consequently in Ferganah there is great heat in summer, contrasted with extreme cold in winter. Ferganah itself is all the same capable of cultivation largely owing to the snowy ranges which more or less surround it, and from which perpetual rivers flow. Both corn and fruit grow for this reason abundantly. On the South and South-West lies Transoxiana, Maweranaher, a land long occupied by Turkish tribes, some of whom still at the time of which I am writing retained their nomadic manner of life, but the vast majority of whom, more or less, intermingled with Persian blood, had become settlers in towns and had more or less taken upon themselves the ways of Muhammedan civilization. On the North and North-East everywhere was steppe. Taimur in his great expeditions to the North had effectually overthrown the old Kipchak hordes dating from the time of Chenghiz Khan and his sons, but in their place had arose the fierce Uzbegs who proved themselves most terrible enemies alike to Baber and to the Persian Kings. In the East was the country of the great Khan, his people being mainly pastoral tribes, with tents for their homes, though here and there settled towns were to be found, and in these settled towns Muhammedan civilization of a sort. To the South and South-East arose the great mountain ranges ordinarily known as the Paropamisus or Hindukush only capable of supporting a meagre population, and in which, save in certain special spots, savagery ran supreme. Even to this day most of these ranges are inhabited by hill tribes hardly more than nominal Muhammedans, who retain very much their habits and ways of 400 years ago. Further South again are the kingdoms of Herat (Khorasan) and Kabul. The former,

as I have just said, was at the time the centre of Muhammedan civilization, the latter an oasis amidst a host of semi-savage tribes. The inhabitants of all these countries save those of the towns in Transoxiana and the Southern kingdoms were neces sarily enduring and hardy, for the feeble had but little chance of surviving. A climate such as that of Ferganah, though invigorating in the highest degree to the strong (recent travellers tell how many old men are to be found in the parts around Ferganah), is not fit for the residence of the feeble and weak. In no country in the world does nature's law as to the survival of the fittest work more inexorably.

Baber was 12 years of age when his father Umar Sheikh Mirza came to his end on the 9th of January 1494. The latter met his death in a strange fashion. In his palace stood a pigeon-house constructed on the edge of a precipitous cliff, overlooking the river below. While in this house, watching the pigeons, the cliff gave way and pigeon-house and Umar Sheikh Mirza were alike precipitated into the river below. He left behind him three sons, Baber and two younger brothers Jehangir Mirza and Nazir Mirza, both of whom were for many years thorns in their eldest brother's side.

Baber has left behind him an autobiography, one of the most illuminating books that the East has ever produced. There is no serious doubt of its being genuine. Internal evidence alone would go a very long way to prove this. As sincere and open as are the confessions of Rouseau, no one but the man who had gone through what the book relates, could have written these memoirs. No attempt is made by him to paint himself without the warts. He relates his follies and failures as much in detail and as remorselessly as he does his valiant deeds and successes. Occasionally he gasconades, but as a rule a severe impartiality is to be found in his pages. Much indeed, which we would call hateful, would seem anything but such to him. A king at twelve, he is from his youth upwards enured to blood and slaughter. We are told (not in his memoirs) that before he was long on his paternal throne he put to death one of his nobles who had conspired

against him with his own hand. We read ... ...noirs of pyramids of sculls, of a hundred prisoners being put to death at a time, without a word of condemnation from the writer, with indeed obvious approval. In this he was a man of his time and race, a descendant of Chenghiz Khan and Taimur; the sanctity of human life did not appeal to him. Compare him with others of the time and region, with Sheibani the Uzbeg, with Shah Ismail or with Ibrahim Lodi, he seems mercy itself. Only once do we read of torture in his memoirs, and that was when an attempt was made by some kitchen servants at the instigation of Ibrahim Lodi's mother to poison him. And in this case beyond imprisoning her he did nothing to the lady herself. As to pederasty he writes with the insignificance of an ancient Greek. Pederasty was not, in the time of Baber, considered a vice at all. He tells us of his own feelings towards a trooper without the slightest abashment—so probably would have almost every other public man of his age in Western Asia; so indeed do we find it recorded of Bahram Khan fifty years later.

In Baber's remarks as to other rulers and nobles of the time, he frequently refers to them without apparent feeling either as catamites or the keepers of catamites, and his only censure is as to the excess and not as to the habit itself. Whatever inference may be drawn from the fact, it is there, and there is no blinking it.

Baber married a plurality of wives as other good Muhammedans of his time did, but seems not to have been at all a slave to conjugality nor indeed a great admirer of the sex. He tells us how with his first wife he was very shy, how his shyness increased and his affections diminished, until at last his mother like a fury used to fall upon him and scold him with great fury and send him off like a criminal to visit her once a month or forty days. He quotes Sadi's saying, "A bad wife in a good man's house even in this world makes a hell on earth," and adds, "May the Almighty remove such a visitation from every good Moslem and God grant that such a thing as an ill-tempered cross-grained wife be not left in the world."

As regards another ruler of the time, Abusaid Mirza of Samarkand, he says one of his wives drank wine. He was prodigiously attached to her. In her lifetime he dared not frequent any other of his ladies. At last he put her to death and delivered himself from his reproach. His affections, as regards women, indeed, seem to have been mainly concentrated on his blood relations, his mother, his grand-mother, his aunts and sisters. As to wine he was a most inveterate toper. He tells how for long he abstained, and how he first took to drinking with his relations, the sons of the King of Khorasan. When once he began he seems to have taken to the habit kindly enough. Like a true Oriental, a great part of his pleasure in drinking seems not to have been in the taste of the wine but in the result brought about. To be drunk was one of the greatest pleasures of his life. To be in a state of semi-intoxication with a number of his friends near a running stream or a wood with its leaves fanned by the wind was, according to him, one of the most pleasing ways of spending his idle time. In one curious passage he tells us how he was anxious to see a woman drink wine, a thing he says which he had never seen before. The woman was, however, too much for him, as he says she got riotous and he had to take himself away as best he could. I may say that not only drinking wine but drinking wine to excess seems to have been almost universal in the East during the fifteenth century in spite of all the injunction of Muhammad. Both Baber's brothers died from excess.

As to his mistakes in action no one is more severe than himself. For instance he tells us in one case when he fought the Uzbegs that the cause of his eagerness to engage was that the Pleiades were on that day exactly between the two armies and that if he had suffered that day to go by without fighting they would have been favourable to the enemy for a space of thirteen or fourteen days. These observations of his, he remarks, were all nonsense, and his precipitation was without the least solid excuse.

As to cowards, he, as a true Moghul, had supreme contempt. Talking of Sultan Ali Mirza, a distant relation of his who

surrendered quietly to Shaibani, he says:* "From his over-anxiety to preserve this transitory and mortal life, he left a name of infamy behind him, and, from following the suggestions of a woman, struck himself out of the list of those who have earned for themselves a glorious name. It is impossible to write any more of the transactions of such a personage, and impossible to listen any farther to the recital of such base and dastardly proceedings." The woman here referred to was Sultan Ali Mirza's mother, and the story told about her shows that human nature or at least female human nature is everywhere the same and at times leads one to very curious places. Sultan Ali Mirza's mother who was by no means young, sent word to Shebani when he was besieging Samarkand, that if he would marry her, her son would surrender the town, he getting it back when Shaibani reconquered his own paternal dominions. Shaibani accepted the offer, got the town, married the woman indeed, but treated her with less consideration than he did any of his concubines and put, as I have stated above, the son to death.

As regards ingratitude Baber is also very severe. Talking of Khusrau, a nobleman of great wealth who seems to have been no worse than others of his time, though a great deal more able, but who acted treacherously towards his masters, he after praising his liberality and his business-like habits, says† "Though he prayed regularly, and abstained from forbidden foods, yet he was blackhearted and vicious, of mean understanding, and slender talents, faithless and a traitor. For the sake of the short and fleeting pomp of this vain world, he put out the eyes of one and murdered another of the sons of the benefactor, in whose service he had been, and by whom he had been patronised and protected; rendering himself accursed of God, abhorred of men, and worthy of execration and shame till the day of final retribution. These crimes he perpetrated merely to secure the enjoyment of some poor worldly vanities; yet with all the power of his many and populous territories, in spite of his magazines of

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 84.

† Babe.'s Memoirs, p. 31.

warlike stores, and the multitude of his servants, he had not the spirit to face a barn-door chicken."

Though fairly punctual in his prayers Baber's religion seems to have had anything but a powerful influence on him save indeed as regards submission to the will of God and a belief in the efficacy of repentance. In his later years he gave up wine, as he had made a vow to give it up after 40 ; but he drank specially copiously a year before he reached that age of forty. He was very fond of making satiric verses, but after a severe illness determined to give this up as unbefitting a Ruler or a Moslem. His boasting may well be considered justified, though according to modern ideas he blows his own trumpet rather too loudly. On one occasion he writes* as regards his taking of Samarkand · "For nearly a hundred and forty years, Samarkand had been the capital of my family. A foreign robber, one knew not whence he came, had seized the kingdom, which dropped from our hands. Almighty God now restored it to me, and gave me back my plundered and pillaged country. Sultan Hussain Mirza had also surprised Heri, much in the same way in which I had now taken Samarkand. But to persons of judgment and discrimination it is evident, and it is clear to every man of candour, that there was a very great difference between the two occurrences. The first distinction is, that Sultan Hussain Mirza was a mighty and powerful sovereign, of great experience, and in the maturity of his years and understanding. The second is, that his opponent, Yadgar Muhammed Mirza, was an inexperienced lad of seventeen or eighteen years of age. A third distinction is, that Mir Ali, the master of horse, who was perfectly acquainted with the whole conduct and proceedings of the enemy, was in his interest, and sent messengers to give him notice of them, and to bring him in an unguarded hour on his foe. A fourth difference is, that his opponent was not in a fortress, but at the Raven Garden, and when Sultan Hussain Mirza took the place, Yadgar Muhammed Mirza, with his attendants, had drunk so deeply of wine, that the only three persons on watch at Yadgar Muhammed Mirza's door were all

* Baber's Memoirs, pp. 88-89.

drunk, as well as himself. The fifth distinction is, that he came and took it at the very first attempt, while the enemy were in the state of unsuspecting negligence that has been described. On the other hand, when I took Samarkand, I was only nineteen and had neither seen much action nor been improved by great experience. In the next place, I had opposed to me an enemy like Shaibani Khan, a man full of talents, of deep experience, and in the meridian of life. In the third place, no persons came from Samarkand to give me any information; for though the townspeople were well inclined to me, yet, from dread of Shaibani Khan, none of them dared to think of such a step. In the fourth place, my enemies were in a fortified place, and I had both to take the place and to rout the enemy. Fifthly, I had once before come for the purpose of surprising Samarkand, and thereby put the enemy on their guard; yet, on a second attempt, by the favour of God, I succeeded and gained the city. In these observations, I have no wish to detract from any man's merits, the facts were exactly as has been mentioned. Nor, in what I have said, is it my wish to exalt the merits of my own enterprise beyond the truth; I have merely detailed the circumstances precisely as they stood."

Again after the battle of Paniput he says:* "From the time of the blessed Prophet (on whom and on his family be peace and salvation) down to the present time, three foreign kings had subdued the country, and acquired the sovereignty of Hindustan. One of these was Sultan Mahmud Ghazi, whose family long continued to fill the throne of that country. The second was Sultan Shahabuddin Ghuri, and for many years his slaves and dependants swayed the sceptre of these realms. I am the third. But my achievement is not to be put on the same level with theirs, for Sultan Mahmud, at the time when he conquered Hindustan, occupied the throne of Khorasan, and had absolute power and dominion over the Sultans of Khwarizm and the surrounding chiefs. The King of Samarkand too was subject to him. If his army did not amount to two hundred thousand, yet grant that it

* Baber's Memoirs, pp. 309,310.

was only one hundred thousand, and it is plain that the comparison between the two conquests must cease. Moreover, his enemies were Rajas. All Hindustan was not at that period subject to a single Emperor : every Raja set up for a Monarch on his own account, in his own petty territories. Again, though Sultan Shahabuddin Ghuri did not himself enjoy the sovereignty of Khorasan, yet his elder brother, Sultan Ghiasuddin Ghuri, held it. In the Tabakat-Nasiri it is said, that on one occasion he marched into Hindustan with one hundred and twenty thousand cataphract horses. His enemies, too, were Rais and Rajas ; a single Monarch did not govern the whole of Hindustan. When I marched into Behreh we might amount to one thousand five hundred, or two thousand men at the utmost. When I invaded the country for the fifth time, overthrew Sultan Ibrahim, and subdued the empire of Hindustan, I had a larger army than I had ever brought into it. My servants, the merchants and their servants, and the followers of all descriptions that were in the camp along with me, were numbered, and amounted to twelve thousand men. The kingdoms that depended upon me were Badakhshan, Kundez, Kabul and Kandahar ; but these countries did not furnish me with assistance equal to their resources ; and indeed, some of them, from their vicinity to the enemy, were so circumstanced, that, far from affording me assistance, I was obliged to send them extensive supplies from my other territories. Besides, this, all Maweranaher was occupied by the Khans and Sultan of the Uzbegs, whose armies were calculated to amount to about a hundred thousand men, and who were my ancient foes. Finally, the whole Empire of Hindustan, from Behreh to Behar, was in the hands of the Afghans. Their prince, Sultan Ibrahim, from the resources of his kingdom, could bring into the field an army of five hundred thousand men. At that time some of the Amirs to the East were in a state of rebellion. His army on foot was computed to be a hundred thousand strong ; his own elephants, with those of his Amirs, were reckoned at nearly a thousand. Yet, under such circumstances, and in spite of this power, placing my trust in God, and leaving behind me my old and inveterate

enemy, the Uzbegs, who had an army of a hundred thousand men, I advanced to meet so powerful a prince as Sultan Ibrahim, the lord of numerous armies, and emperor of extensive territories. In consideration of my confidence in Divine aid, the Most High God, did not suffer the distress and hardships that I had undergone to be thrown away, but defeated my formidable enemy, and made me the conqueror of the noble country of Hindustan. This success I do not ascribe to my own strength, nor did this good fortune flow from my own efforts, but from the fountain of the favour and mercy of God."

CHAPTER II.

THE death of Baber's father brought about a result ordinary enough in an Eastern State when the successor to the throne is a minor. His paternal and maternal uncles both attempted to seize parts of his inheritance; the former, Sultan Ali Mirza, the Ruler at the time of Samarkand, invaded Ferganah from the South-West, while the latter, Muhammad Khan, invaded it from the East. Neither, however, effected very much, nor yet did Amir Ababeker Mirza Dohiglat, the Ruler of Kashgar, who also attempted to take advantage of the minority of Baber. The description of Sultan Ali Mirza given by Baber shows him to have been a typical Turk. It is too graphic not to be reproduced* here:

"He had never read any (so in the translation), and, though brought up in the city, was illiterate and unrefined. He was a plain honest Turk, but not favoured by genius. He was, however, a just man; and as he always consulted the reverend Khwajeh in affairs of importance, he generally acted in conformity to the law. He was true to his promises, and faithful to his compacts or treaties, from which he never swerved. He was brave; and though he never happened to be engaged hand-to-hand in close combat, yet they say that in several actions he showed proofs of courage. He excelled in archery. He was a good marksman. With his arrows

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 21.

and forked arrows he generally hit the mark; and in riding from one side of the exercise ground to the other, he used to hit the brazen basin several times. Latterly, when he became very corpulent, he took to bringing down pheasants and quails, with the goshawks, and seldom failed. He was fond of hawking, and was particularly skilled in flying the hawk, an amusement which he frequently practised. If you except Ulugh Beg Mirza, there was no other king who equalled him in field-sports. He was singularly observant of decorum, insomuch that it is said, that even in private, before his own people, and nearest relations, he never uncovered his feet. Whenever he took to drinking wine, he would drink without intermission for twenty or thirty days. In social parties he would sometimes sit day and night, and drink profusely; on the days when he did not drink, he ate pungent substances. He was naturally of a penurious disposition, was a simple man, of few words, and entirely guided by his Begs."

The Sultan's death brought about a dispute as to the succession at Samarkand. Baber took advantage of this to conquer Samarkand for himself. This he did in the year 1497 A.D. He did not, however, long keep his conquest. While engaged in wars abroad, troubles had broken out at home in which the leader was one Sultan Ahmad Tambol, a Mongol. The success of the rebels was considerably helped by a dangerous illness which Baber had while in Samarkand. He tells us that people despaired of his life for a very considerable time, that on his recovery he received several messages from home and that he was forced to abandon Samarkand in order to save the chief forts of his own country which were being besieged by his domestic enemies. He was, however, too late, and his chief supporter Khwajah Kazi was hanged by the rebels over the gate of the citadel of Andijan. This Kazi's murderers came to a bad end. Baber writes in his Memoirs thus :*

"I have no doubt that Khwajah Kazi was a Wali (or saint). What better proof of it could be required than the single fact that, in a short time, no trace or memorial remained of any one

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 58.

of all those who were concerned in his murder. They were all completely extirpated. Khwajah Kazi was a wonderfully bold man, which is also no mean proof of sanctity. All mankind, however, brave they be, have some little anxiety or trepidation about them. The Khwajah had not a particle of either."

Baber's condition was now that of a landless adventurer, but with the buoyancy of youth, after a short lapse into absolute misery, he laughed at misfortunes, and determined to attempt his fortunes again on the field of battle. His thoughts returned to Samarkand which the mighty Shaibani had seized in A. D. 1500.

The latter's Uzbegs, wild sons of the desert, had made themselves thoroughly disliked by the people of Samarkand, and consequently when Baber with a small force took possession of that place by stratagem the citizens joined with him and pursued the Uzbegs in every street and corner with sticks and stones and hunted them down like mad dogs. Shaibani who was in the town at the time made his way to Bokhara. Shortly after this it was that Baber fought the battle with Shaibani in which he relied on the Pleiades as I have stated above, in which he was totally defeated. His defeat, he says, was turned into a rout by the bad behaviour of his Moghul troops. These wretches, he says, if they defeat an enemy instantly seize upon the booty : and if they are defeated, plunder and dismount their own allies, and betide what may, carry off the spoil. He quotes a couplet as to them which I reproduce :*

> If the Moghul race were a race of angels, it is a bad race ;
> And were the name Moghul written in gold, it would be odious ;
> Take care not to pluck one ear of corn from a Moghul harvest ;
> The Moghul seed is such that whatever is sowed with it is execrable.

The consequence was that he was besieged in Samarkand, and after a long blockade had to surrender on terms. What these were he does not clearly mention, but it seems that one of the terms at least was the marriage of his sister with the hated Shaibani. It was after this that he met for the first time his maternal uncle, the younger Khan. At the time Baber was a

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 93.

resident at the camp of his elder paternal uncle Sultan Mahmud Khan. Baber describes very graphically how he met his younger uncle.*

"Between Tashkend and Seiram there is a village named Yeghma, as well as some other small villages, where are the tombs of Ibrahim Ata and Ishak Ata. We advanced as far as these villages, and not knowing precisely the time that the younger Khan would arrive, I had ridden out carelessly to see the country, when all at once I found myself face to face with him. I immediately alighted and advanced to meet him; at the moment I dismounted, the Khan knew me and was greatly disturbed; for he had intended to alight somewhere and having seated himself to receive and embrace me with great form and decorum: but I came too quick upon him and dismounted so rapidly that there was no time for ceremony; at the moment I sprang from my horse, I knelt down and then embraced. He was a good deal agitated and disconcerted. At length he ordered Sultan Said Khan and Baber Khan Sultan to alight, kneel, and embrace me."

The meeting between the two brothers is also graphically described: †

"My uncle, the elder Khan, came three or four farsangs out from Tashkend, and having erected an awning, seated himself under it. The younger Khan advanced straight up, and on coming near him in front, turned to the left of the elder Khan, fetching a circle round him, till he again presented himself in front, when he alighted; and when he came to the distance at which the Kornish is performed, he knelt nine times, and then came up and embraced him.

The elder Khan, immediately on the younger Khan's coming near, stood up and embraced him; they stood a long time clasping each other in their arms. The younger Khan, while retiring, again knelt nine times, and then he presented his *peshkesh* (or tributary offering); he again knelt many times; after which he went and sat down."

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 105.

† Baber's Memoirs, p. 106.

The next years of Baber's life were spent in attempts to recover his paternal inheritance, the Kingdom of Ferganah His two maternal uncles, his brother Jehangir, Sultan Ahmad Tambol, now as friends, now as foes flit across the stage, with purposes sometimes cross to Baber's, always cross to one another's. Finally Sultan Ahmad Tambol calls in Shaibani. Baber is defeated and forced to flee and his Memoirs are interrupted for more than a year. The last he tells of himself is that he, being alone, is trapped into a hostile town. When these Memoirs begin again, Shaibani has conquered Ferganah and he (Baber) leaves that country for good. Looking about him as to where he may have a chance of reigning, away from the terrible Shaibani, his thoughts turn towards Kabul. There a Taimurid dynasty had reigned since the death of the great Taimur until very recently when Abdur Rizak, a cousin of Baber's, had been expelled by Muhammad Mokim Arghun, a son of Zulum Arghun, a soldier of fortune, who nominally a servant of the King of Herat, had established himself as a practically independent Prince at Kandahar. The high mountain ranges which separate the country now known as Afghanistan from Ferganah were then ruled over by Khusrau. The chief support of his rule was the Moghul soldiery, who as soldiers of fortune had enlisted under him, but when Baber passed through this country, this soldiery, whether induced by promises from Baber or not, it is impossible to say, deserted Khusrau and joined themselves to Baber. Khusrau had consequently to give up his sovereignty to Baber and to retire, content with a promise of a safe conduct for himself and his personal property to Khorasan. Some of Baber's followers wished to kill him, but Baber, more scrupulous than the great Taimur, not only refused to have anything to do with such a breach of his word, but prevented his followers from attempting anything of the sort. Some little time after Khusrau returned from Khorasan and attempted to take Kundez which had fallen into Shaibani's hands, was taken prisoner and beheaded A.D. 1505.

On the way to Kabul, Baber mentions that he saw for the first time Canopus. The fact of his mentioning this shows how

much more heed the wanderers of Central Asia take of the starry heavens than the residents of Europe. We read in sailors' travels indeed, how they first notice the Southern Cross, and to the wanderers of Asia a steppe or desert is much what the ocean is to a navigator. Baber's conquest of Kabul was bloodless. Mokim retired to Shah Zulnun, his father, at Kandahar. Baber, save for occasional local disturbances, remained for the rest of his life the actual Ruler of the Kabul Kingdom. He is never tired of singing this country's praises; concerning it he writes:

"This country lies between Hindustan and Khorasan.* It is an excellent and profitable market for commodities. Were the merchants to carry their goods as far as Khita or Rum, they would scarcely get the same profit on them. Every year, seven, eight, or ten thousand horses arrive in Kabul. From Hindustan every year, fifteen or twenty thousand pieces of cloth are bought by caravans. The commodities of Hindustan are slaves, white clothes, sugar-candy, refined and common sugar, drugs and spices. There are many merchants that are not satisfied with getting thirty or forty for ten. The productions of Khorasan, Rum, Irak and Chin, may all be found in Kabul, which is the very emporium of Hindustan. Its warm and cold districts are close by each other. From Kabul you may in a single day go to a place where snow never falls, and in the space of two astronomical hours, you may reach a spot where snow lies always, except now and then when the summer happens to be peculiarly hot. In the districts dependent on Kabul, there is great abundance of the fruits both of hot and cold climates, and they are found in its immediate vicinity. The fruits of the cold districts in Kabul are grapes, pomegranates, apricots, peaches, pears, apples, quinces, jujubes, damsons, almonds and walnuts, all of which are found in great abundance. I caused the sour-cherry tree to be brought here and planted; it produced excellent fruit, and continues thriving. The fruits it possesses, peculiar to a warm climate, are the orange, citron, the *amluk*, and sugar-cane, which are brought from the Lamghanat. I caused the sugar-cane to be

* Baber's Memoirs, pp. 137, 138.

brought, and planted it here. They have numbers of beehives, but honey is brought only from the hill country on the West. The raw-ash (rhubarb) of Kabul is of excellent quality; its quinces and damask plums are excellent, as well as its badrengs.* There is a species of grape which they call the water-grape, that is very delicious; its wines are strong and intoxicating. That produced on the skirt of the mountain of Khwajah Khan Said is celebrated for its potency, though I describe it only from what I have heard.

"The drinker knows the flavour of the wine; how should the sober know it? Kabul is not fertile in grain; a return of four or five to one is reckoned favourable. The melons too are not good, but those raised from seed brought from Khorasan are tolerable. The climate is extremely delightful, and in this respect there is no such place in the known world. In the nights of summer you cannot sleep without a postin (or lambskin-cloak). Though the snow falls very deep in the winter, yet the cold is never excessively intense. Samarkand and Tabriz are celebrated for their fine climate, but the cold there is extreme beyond measure."

It must be remembered that the name of Afghanistan as the country of the Afghans is new. A large part of the country now known by the name, is even to this day inhabited by tribes quite distinct from the Afghans, and it has only been within the last few centuries that the Afghans have become the dominant tribes in the country between Kabul and the lands between Kabul and India. When Baber writes about them he always speaks in words of dispraise. He will hardly believe that they are Muhammedans at all, but prefers talking about them as Kafirs and, from what we can learn, they seem to have had many heathen customs. The Memoirs relate one or two curious superstitions of this race. One was that they believed that if a woman was virtuous in her lifetime she would at her death, when placed on a bier, move; so we read that the Sultan of Bajour when his mother died neither made lamentations, nor expressed sorrow, nor arrayed himself in black, but only said—"Go and place her on the bier; if she does

* *Note.*—A large green fruit in shape somewhat like a citron.

not move I will burn her." They placed her on a bier and the corpse had the desired motion. On hearing this he put on black and gave vent to his sorrow.

Another curious fable he mentions as regards a bird which he called the Lokheh or Chameleon-bird, to wit, that if it flies across a vineyard, it falls down.

Shortly after his arrival at Kabul, his mother fell ill with a disease known as kusbi, which Erksine translates as measles. The cure prescribed was a dish of water-melons: the result was death. He buried her in the garden of Ulugh Beg Mirza at Kabul. He is careful to mention that before doing so, he got permission from the Mirza's heirs. The Muhammedans are particularly careful not to bury their dead in land got by wrong or oppression, and Baber in his care to get the rightful owner's permission, acted as a typical Muhammedan. He mentions that shortly after his mother's death there was a great earthquake * in Kabul, and that actual rifts were made in the ground. The results do not seem to have been very serious.

His first expedition from Kabul was towards the East. Sweeping down the Kabul River he skirts the Eastern passes of the Sulaman Range and then through the Southern passes, back to Kabul. Shaibani having now recruited in the North, and having become the undoubted Ruler of Mawaranaher, a great part of Ferganah and of the Western part of the Hindukush country, now began to interfere with the Kingdom of Khorasan. Just at this time Sultan Hussein Mirza, the Ruler of that country, whose capital was Herat, died.

The fame of this king, who was a cultured and accomplished Monarch, was great. Herat under him became the greatest seat of Muhammedan civilisation in Western Asia. At the same time there was a reverse side to the picture. He had most of his sons constantly rebelling, and he had no compunction in punishing them even unto death. He was a great wine bibber, and as Baber tells us, his sons the whole of the soldiery and the towns people,

* This earthquake was probably the same that was felt in Agra, concerning which I have written above.

followed his example in this respect and seemed to vie with each other in debauchery and lasciviousness. On his death his sons showed themselves absolutely incapable of defending the kingdom against Shaibani. Zulnun Arghun, the Ruler of Kandahar, one of the most enterprising and bravest men of the time, was the first to attack this conqueror. With all his virtues, this noble was both credulous and ignorant.

Several Mullahs having told him that they had intercourse with the spheres and that the title of Hezeber-ulla (the lion of God) had been conferred on him, and also having predicted to him that he was predestined to defeat the Uzbegs, he implicitly believing their prophecies and divine revelations, fiercely attacked Shaibani with a small body of men. Then, as now, Providence showed itself on the side of the heavy battalions, and so he was taken prisoner and put to death. Baber was invited by his two cousins, the sons of Sultan Hussein Mirza who had become the chief kings of Herat, to help them in the war. He accordingly proceeded to Herat, but having found that there was no unity in council nor any serious preparations for successful resistance against the Uzbegs returned, and after a thousand difficulties in making his way through the hill country between Herat and Kabul where the Hazaras dwelled (not to be confounded with the country now known as Hazaristan) returned to the latter place only to find that a rebellion in which his grandmother had taken a great part, had placed one of his many cousins on the throne. All that he got from going to Herat was learning to drink. The rebellion was easily put down. One of the chief promoters of it was Muhammad Hasan Mirza, father of the author of the Tariki-Rishidi. Baber mentions him as one of the many whom he had loaded with benefits, and whose only return to him had been ingratitude. "Leave them, however, to the hands of fate, for fate is the servant who will avenge," and so it happened that Muhammad Hasan Mirza shortly afterwards met his death at Shaibani's hands. The latter took Herat, became the master of Kandahar, and had the whole of Khorasan at his feet. He was now, however, to meet as able and unscrupulous a Ruler as himself. Shah Ismail, the

founder of the first national dynasty that had ruled over Persia, since the days when Khalid, the lion of God, had destroyed the old Persian Empire on the field of Nehavend some nine centuries previously, was a Sayid whose father and more remote ancestors had been noted for their personal sanctity as well as esteemed for being the descendants of the Prophet. His birthplace was Ardebil in the hilly country south of the Caspian Sea. Little by little partly by his great wealth, for a recognised saint in those days by means of offerings amassed great riches, and partly by his ability both in council and action, he had become the Ruler of all Persia. More than once he successfully withstood the might of the Ottoman Empire, and during his long reign the latter made no serious encroachments on the various lands which had been in the possession of the descendants of Taimur.

Shaibani, whose one idea of statesmanship was that of Rob Roy's, that he should take who had the might and he should keep who can, had in his predatory expeditions entered the country over which Shah Ismail ruled. The latter sent an embassy to Shaibani asking him to forbear. The Uzbeg Ruler who was a strict Sunni answered the Shiah Shah Ismail with scorn: "I," he said, "am a Prince who hold my dominions by hereditary descent. I do not understand what claim you Shah Ismail have to the countries you call your hereditary dominions. Sovereignty descends through the father and not the mother." This he said inasmuch as Shah Ismail had claimed to rule over a large part of Persia on the ground that he was descended by his mother from Uzar Hasan who, as the chief of the Turkoman Horde, had once been Ruler of the country. A son, he added, should follow his father's trade, a daughter her mother's, so I send you a lady's veil and beggar's dish. (This he said referring to Ismail's father having been a Fakir.)

If thou hast forgotten thy father's trade the dish may serve it to recall it to thy memory; but if thou wouldst place thy foot on the steps of the throne remember: "He that would clasp to his breast royalty as his bride, must woo her in the battle-fray athwart sharp scimitars."

As a good Musalman, I shortly propose to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and on my way I shall pass through Irak. Shah Ismail's reply is thus related by Erskine : * " The youthful warrior who professed to feel a pride in his descent from a family of holy dervishes, that gloried in their voluntary poverty, received the Uzbeg's taunts with affected humility. He returned for answer, that if every man was bound to follow his father's trade, all being sons of Adam, must adhere to that of prophets ; that if hereditary descent conferred the only right to sovereignty, he did not see how it had descended from the Peshdadi to the Kyani dynasties of Persia, or how it had come to Chenghiz, or to him whom he addressed.

" Boast not thyself, O vain youth, of thy father, who is dead ;
Pride not thyself on bones, as if thou wert a dog."

That he, on his part, proposed making a pilgrimage to the shrine of the holy Imam Reza at Meshed, where he would have an opportunity of waiting on the Khan. In return for his present, he sent him a spindle and distaff ; and, alluding to his quotation, that royalty must be wooed in the battle-field, he concluded : " And so say I also. Lo, I have tightened my girdle for a deadly contest, and have placed the foot of determination in the stirrup of victory. If thou wilt meet me face to face in fight like a man, our quarrel will at once be decided. But if thou wouldst rather slink into a corner, then thou mayst find what I have sent thee of some use."

" We have sparred quite long enough, let us now exchange hard blows in the field.

" He who falls, borne down in the combat, let him fall."

After this diplomatic correspondence, Shah Ismail pushed forward with great speed and found Shaibani with a small body of troops near Merv into which town the latter threw himself. Shah Ismail when he was near Merv wrote to Shaibani stating that he had been more punctual in keeping his engagements than Shaibani had been, having performed the pilgrimage to Meshed, whereas Shaibani had not yet gone to Mecca. Having despatched

* Erskine, Vol. I. pp. 299-300.

this letter, he pretended to retreat and thereby allured Shaibani out of the citadel of Merv. When the Uzbegs had got so far from the town that retreat was impossible, they suddenly fell on the whole Persian Army which had been drawn up to meet them, and in the battle which ensued were totally defeated. Shaibani being driven into a small walled enclosure was there overlaid by his troops endeavouring to escape thereout and smothered. In A.D. 1510 his head was cut off and his skin stuffed with hay. The former was sent as a present to the Sultan at Constantinople.

A story is told about Agha Rustum Raz Afzun of Persia, who in these troublesome times had made himself master of Mazenderan, holding out there against Shah Ismail, and who was in the habit of saying that his hands were on the skirts of Shaibani's garment, meaning thereby that Shaibani would always give him protection. After Shaibani's death a special messenger sent by Shah Ismail came on a festival day into the Agha's court, and after reminding the Agha that his hands had never been on the hem of Shaibani's garment added that Shaibani's hand would now be on the hem of his garment. Thereupon he threw the severed hand of Shaibani into that of the Ruler's lap. He escaped without injury.

The battle of Merv and the death of Shaibani completely changed the state of affairs in Western Asia. Shah Ismail now became by far the most powerful Ruler there, but from him Baber had comparatively little to dread. It is more than hinted, however, by the historians who write of Baber's early days that he was forced to become more or less a vassal of Shah Ismail. Certain it is that he entered into a joint invasion of Maweranaher along with the Persian, that he conquered in the said invasion Samarkand in A.D. 1511, but that after a short time the people who had formerly been favourable to him became deadly hostile, and that consequently he had finally to flee after being defeated in more battles than one, from Maweranaher, which country he never again penetrated. In the year 1514 he left Transoxiana never to return, retaining no possessions North of the Hindukush Range. The only explanation afforded as to why

he became so disliked by the people of Samarkand is that his conjunction with the heretical Shiahs, who were the most bigoted of mortals, alienated the Sunnis who constituted the whole community of the Muhammedans North of Oxus.

Shortly before the death of Shaibani, Baber had taken Kandahar from the Arghuns and had found therein an enormous booty. He, however, retained possession of this place, but for a short time, inasmuch as Shaibani marched through Herat and reconquered it without any difficulty. It was at this time that Baber took to himself the name of Padshah (commonly translated as Emperor).

After his final expulsion from the countries between the Oxus and Jaxartes his thoughts turned to India. I have already spoken of his first expedition down the river Kabul, but it was not till the year 1519 that he began to take serious steps towards conquering any part of Hindustan. In 1519 he only got as far as the Fort of Bajour which is well to the West of the Indus. The people in the Fort he describes as rebels to the followers of Islam and also followers of the customs and usages of infidels. On taking the Fort he put them all to the sword. During this expedition he mentions that he came to the tomb of Shahbaz Kalendar, whom he describes as an impious unbeliever. It stood, as he tells us, in a charming and delightful spot. Deeming such a place too good for the tomb of an infidel, he ordered it to be demolished. Fortunately for our opinion of Baber, we do not often hear of his committing acts of this sort. He mentions also in his expedition near the Indus the hunting of rhinoceroses, which he says were plentiful there. Not one is, I believe, now to be found in those parts.

After conquering Bajour he marched into the North-West Punjab. This he says had long been in the possession of the Turks and so he regarded it as his own domain. Acting on this principle he prevents his soldiers from plundering, punished with death some whom he found disobeying his orders. He then sends an embassy to Sultan Ibrahim, Ruler at Delhi, to demand that the countries which in the olden times had belonged to the Turks

should be given up to him. He also sent messages to Doulat Khan Lodi, the powerful Subhadar at Lahore. The ambassador to the Sultan had to pass the territory of Lahore and therefore to present himself to Doulat Khan Lodi before proceeding.* As to the result of this Mission, he writes—"The people of Hindustan, and particularly the Afghans, are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection and less foresight. They can neither persist in and manfully support a war, nor can they continue in a state of amity and friendship. This person who was sent by me, Doulat Khan detained some time in Lahore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultan Ibrahim; so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kabul without having received any answer."

After certain contests with the Gakkars, he returned to Kabul without having made any substantial conquests to the East of the Indus. His next invasion of India was in the year 1523. Before this Doulat Khan Lodi having distrusted Sultan Ibrahim, who was cutting off the heads of the tall poppies very freely, had sent him an invitation to come and deliver Hindustan from the cruelties of the reigning sovereign. A pretender to the throne of Delhi in the person of a brother of the Sultan had also come to his court. In this invasion, Baber burnt the bazar and town of Lahore, and advancing to Dibalpur he took that place by storm. There he was met by Doulat Khan Lodi who did not, however, get on well with him, he having very different ideas from Baber as to what their respective positions should be after the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim. The consequence was that Baber, who had advanced as far as Sirhind, was forced to return. The next step in the invasion of India was in the year 1525 A. D., when the pretender, aided by Doulat Khan Lodi, marched towards Delhi. There he was defeated by Ibrahim Sultan. Baber relates how the pretender's hope of success was largely based on the Afghan's nobles abandoning Ibrahim and joining him, and how a night attack was determined upon, inasmuch as the Afghans object to deserting in the daytime,

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 257.

but have no scruples about deserting at night, and how by mischance the battle between the parties was in the daytime and not in the night. After the defeat of the pretender, Baber himself invaded India with a force more carefully prepared than any which he had led there before. Sultan Ibrahim marched through Delhi to meet him. After a skirmish in which Baber's eldest son Humayan distinguished himself, the two forces met at Paniput, a small town 40 miles from Delhi. Here more than once the fate of India has been decided, the last time being when the Afghans under Ahmed Shah Abdah shattered to fragments the Mahratta confederation in 1761 A.D. Baber describes the battle, but beyond the fact that his troops were much better in hand than those of his opponents and that the victory was won by his flanks extending and then pressing in the flanks of the opposing force, there is not much of detail worthy of record to be found in the Memoirs. Sufficient to say that the forces of Ibrahim Sultan which far exceeded Baber's army in numbers were utterly defeated, and that Ibrahim was himself killed. Three marches brought Baber to Delhi and some forced further marches to Agra, where Baber entered as a conqueror and Emperor on the 10th of May 1526. With his conquest of these two towns, the old Afghan dynasties came to an end, and the reign of the Great Moghuls began. It is expedient here therefore to stop, and before proceeding further to take a bird's-eye view of Hindustan as it was when the Ferganah petty prince became Lord of the great Empire of India.

CHAPTER III.

India, outside the great towns, when Baber conquered Delhi, had no roads. The Afghan Rulers, great builders of palaces and tombs, though they did much in their palmier days to promote irrigation, never attempted to become road-builders. This is not surprising seeing that the idea of a road as a method of Empire first really originated at Rome, and it is only in the case of kingdoms which have sprung from the Roman Empire and which have Roman traditions, that road-building has ever taken a prominent

place. One of the reasons for the absolute want of permanency in the earlier great Empires of Asia was the want of inland communication, and so in India, although the Afghans from the time of Mahmud Ghazni in the eleventh century up to the days of Baber, had everywhere established kingdoms and settled themselves as conquerors, still their influence on the countries they conquered was comparatively small. The Afghan conquerors ruled in the great towns and wherever there were settlements of their own countrymen or of Hindu converts to Islam; elsewhere they were more or less simply collectors of revenue, and their rulers, though they were nominally kings over a large part of India, had really but little influence (save as tax collectors) over the Hindu population. It was in the days of the Afghan Rulers that Benares, the centre of Hinduism, reached its highest fame, and that the systems of Hindu law and of metaphysics definitely assumed the position they now hold.

Students of Sanskrit Literature tell us that little will be found therein showing any influence of Muhammedan thought thereon. An exception may be made as regards astronomy, but even as regards this according to the best authority its influence is but slight.

As the country had no roads neither had it any bridges when an army had to cross a river it either had to ford it or to procure boats. Travelling accordingly during the rainy season became, if not impossible, exceedingly difficult, and at all times of the year was an arduous undertaking. Accordingly parts of India close to each other in position were politically less united than now are, say the Madras Presidency and the Punjab.

Baber's* impressions of India and of the people were by; no means favourable. He says—"Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 333.

invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture ; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of a candle and torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows, whom they call Deutis, who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, it being wooden, they stick a piece of iron like the top of a candlestick ; they fasten a pliant wick, of the size of the middle finger, by an iron pin, to another of the legs. In their right hand they hold a gourd, in which they have made a hole for the purpose of pouring out oil in a small stream, and whenever the wick requires oil, they supply it from this gourd. Their great men kept a hundred or two hundred of these Deutis. This is the way in which they supply the want of candles and candlesticks. If their Emperors of chief nobility at any time have occasion for a light by night, these filthy Deutis bring in their lamp, which they carry up to their master, and there stand holding it close by his side.

Besides their rivers and standing waters, they have some running water in their ravines and hollows ; they have no aqueducts or canals in their gardens or palaces. In their buildings they study neither elegance nor climate, appearance nor regularity. Their peasants and the lower classes all go about naked. They tie on a thing which they call a *langoti*, which is a piece of clout that hangs down like two spans from the navel, as a cover to their nakedness. Below this pendant modesty-clout is another slip of clout, one end of which they fasten before to a string that ties on the *langoti*, and then passing the slip of clout between the two legs bring it up and fix it to the string of the *langoti* behind. The women, too, have a *langoti*, one end of it they tie about their waist, and the other they throw over their heads."

As to the advantages of the country he tells us*—"The chief excellency of Hindustan is, that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. The climate during the rains is

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 33.

very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations come pouring down all at once, and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, in so much that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature. Its defect is that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless. Nor is it the bow alone that becomes useless; coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. Their houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built. There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as the rainy season; but then the North wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of air and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this *andhi*; it gets warm during Taurus and Gemini, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh or Kandahar. It is not above half so warm as in these places. Another convenience of Hindustan is, that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable and without end. For any work or any employment there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son from ages. In the Zefer-Namah of Mulla Sherif-ed-din Ali Yezdi, it is mentioned as a surprising fact, that when Taimur Beg was building the Sangin (or stone) mosque, there were stone-cutters of Azerbijan, Fars, Hindustan, and other countries, to the number of two hundred working every day on the mosque. In Agra alone, and of stone-cutters belong to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces six hundred and eighty persons; and in Agra, Sikri, Biana, Dhulpur, Gwalior and Koel, there were every day employed on my works one thousand four hundred and ninety one stone-cutters. In the same way, men of every trade and occupation are numberless and without stint in Hindustan."

As to personal troubles he tells us *—"We were annoyed with three things in Hindustan; one was its heat, another its strong winds, the third its dust. Baths were the means of removing all three inconveniences. In the bath we could not be affected by the wind. During the hot winds the cold can be rendered so intense, that a person often feels as if quite powerless from it. The room of the bath, in which is the tub or cistern, is finished wholly of stone. The water-run is of white stone; all the rest of it, its floor and roof, is of a red stone, which is the stone of Biana."

A daily bath is a necessity in India, alike for a foreigner and native, but in modern India save amongst the wealthier Muhammedans a Turkish bath as described by Baber is now unknown.

CHAPTER IV.

In another place Baber writes about Hindustan as follows :—

† "The country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have an uniform look ; its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brushwood, to such a degree that the people of the Perganah relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and, trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindustan, if you except the rivers, there is little running water. Now and then some standing water is to be met with. All these cities and countries derive their water from wells or tanks in which it is collected during the rainy season. In Hindustan, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day or a day

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 341.

† Baber's Memoirs, p. 315.

and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population. And if, on the other hand, they intend to settle on any particular spot, as they do not need to run water-courses or to build flood-mounds, their crops being produced without irrigation, and the population of Hindustan being unlimited, inhabitants swarm in in every direction. They make a tank or dig a well; there is no need of building a strong house or erecting a firm wall; they have abundance of strong grass and plenty of timber, of which they run up hovels, and a village or town is constructed in an instant."

He also mentions the want of artificial canals for irrigation. In the palmier Afghan days, however, of more than one of their Padshahs of Delhi, prominently Feroz Shah, who reigned in the second half of the fourteenth century, canal building was a favourite occupation, but after the fatal invasion of Taimur, it seems to have been totally abandoned.

The main Muhammedan kingdoms in Hindustan besides the kingdom of Delhi, which, save at its worst, always included the Punjab as an appanage, were Jaunpore, Bengal, Malwa and Gujarat. Of these Jaunpore did not exist in the days of Baber, it having been, as I have already related, conquered by Sekunder Lodi; only the weakness of the central power of Delhi allowed it to spring into existence and as soon as this power became at all strong, the kingdom of Jaunpore ceased to exist. Thus it flourished most vigorously during the feeble reign of the Sayids at Delhi. After the departure of Taimur it extended in the North-West over Modern Oudh and in the South-East over Modern Behar. Various remains, including a magnificent mosque at Jaunpore, still exist, and from this we may learn that the Rulers of these kingdoms were like other Muhammedan Rulers great and capable builders. Bengal had really a separate existence almost from the days of the first Muhammedan conquerors in the beginning of the thirteenth century. This kingdom sometimes extended into Behar which, however, was taken from it more than once by the Rulers of Jaunpore and of Delhi. The Pathan settlers in Bengal were perhaps less in touch with the

people than those of any other part of India. They seem to have been quite content, provided they obtained sufficient tribute, to leave the Hindu population entirely to their own way. In some things indeed aboriginal influences must have gained its way even among the Pathans. The custom noted by Mr. Fraser in his Golden Bough and which is certain pre-Islamic was maintained there, that any one who could slay the King himself became King. Nowhere in India was the detachment of the Hindu mind from the things of this world more complete than in Bengal, and it was during the rule of the Muhammedan Rulers there in the latter part of the fifteenth century that Chaitaniya taught his doctrines of reformed Vaishnavism :—

> The East bowed low before the blast,
> In patient deep disdain ;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again.

Chaitaniya taught Theism which is compatible with Hinduism and the abolition of caste which one would think is not ; but such is the eclectic influence of the Hindu religion that vast numbers of Bengalees are followers of Chaitaniya and still remain Hindus. In the Punjab a similar movement resulted about this time in Sikhism which, though descended from Hinduism, is absolutely distinct therefrom.

The Punjab, Delhi, Jaunpore and Bengal are provinces continuous from the Indus to the Bay of Bengal. South of the Punjab and Delhi is Rajputana and South of Rajputana are Malwa and Gujarat. These kingdoms which became separate early in the fourteenth century and which contain some of the most fertile parts of India did not have a constant flow of adventurers from the North-Western Frontier such as poured into the Punjab and by way of Delhi further East. Muhammedan life in these kingdoms became more and more Indian and though the North-West stream of immigrants never quite ceased, even in them, yet the foundation of their power was rather by reason of immigration from the kingdoms of the Deccan upwards rather than from Central Asia downwards. Gujarat itself

bordering the sea was largely effected by Arabs and other Western Muhammedans. These two kingdoms seem to have got on the whole very well with their Hindu neighbours further North though they both and Malwa particularly had occasional wars with their Rajputana neighbours. To complete the circuit one comes to Sind, which a little before the time of Baber, had been seized by the Arghuns whom I have mentioned as ruling in Kandahar. Sind had been invaded by a Muhammedan conqueror within a hundred years f the Hijira, and ever since had been more or less a Muhammedan country. In no other part of Hindustan had the people become more thoroughly impregnated with the doctrine of Islam. A hot, sandy country, not unlike Arabia, its peoples have, from the first Muhammedan invasions, ever taken kindly to the doctrine and ways of Islam.

Edged in as a block between these Muhammedan kingdoms is Rajputana. There alone in Hindustan (India North of the Vindhyas) was the Hindu Ruler. No foreign influence had modified this rule. The Rajput had formerly reigned over much of Hindustan, and at the time of the great Muhammedan invasion at the end of the twelfth century the two great kingdoms of Hindustan were Delhi and Kanouj in both of which Rajputs reigned. Internal dissensions helped to bring about the great defeat by Shahab-ud-din of Prithvi Raj, the Delhi King, at Thaneswar in 1193 A.D. After that fatal day, no more did Rajput rule on the bank of the Ganges or its great affluent, the Jumna. As Rulers this race were driven to the confines of Rajputana. Part of Scindia's and Holkar's present domains were included in this land in the time of which I write. Otherwise Rajputana then was very much the same stretch of country as the Rajputana of the present day. This may be divided into two parts : the Northern, mainly sandy, and the Southern, hilly with woodland and pastural land and some, though not a very great quantity of arable land. The hills which are the backbone of this Southern part are known as the Aravalli. On Mount Abu, one of the summits of this range, the British Resident of Rajputana now spends the hottest month of the year. The Rajputs themselves

have had their history most sympathetically told by Colonel Todd, who in the earlier part of last century was for many years Political Agent of the British Governor-General accredited to the Chieftains of Rajputana. As to their origin, it is needless to go into the fanciful stories told by him, but it is almost certain that they are not descendants of the earliest Aryan invaders of Hindustan. In thoughts, religious ideas and ways of life they differ notably not only from the Brahmins of the rest of Hindustan, but also from the high castemen to be found within the watershed of the Ganges. Chivalrous, thoughtless, without a care for the morrow, with a degree of self-respect which rises superior to death, the Rajput can hardly be compared to any other Eastern or indeed any other race. Having his land in the middle of hostile Muhammedan kingdoms, often warring with them, often defeated, he has managed to survive and to survive as a ruler through it all. When we reach Akbar's reign, we will see how the latter attempted to league himself with his race and to make them the sheet anchor of his policy; we will learn how far he succeeded and how far he failed; later on we will find this policy followed by his two successors only to be cast aside by Aurangzeb, and we will find that this casting aside was one of the causes of the decay of the great Moghul Empire. The chief State in Rajputana was Chitore, ruled by the Sesodias. The Rulers of this State trace their ancestry back with historical accuracy to the time when the Roman Empire was at its height; a marriage connection with one of the Byzantine Emperors is recorded in its annals. But its position as the incessant foe of the Moslem is its chief title to fame. The Moghuls of Delhi never married a daughter of this race. Chitore was stormed by Muhammedan Rulers more than once and finally yielded its place as capital in favour of Udaipur, but when the Chitore Rajput could not withstand the foe in fort or plain, he retired to the mountains and carried on the eternal strife. The Maharaja of Udaipur is to this day considered the premier Rajput Ruler of India, and amongst Hindus at least is more deeply respected and reverenced than the Rulers of States, the creation of Moghul India, though in rank and power he may not be able to compare with these.

In one part of peninsular India at the time of Baber's arrival in Hindustan there were five Muhammedan kingdoms. These adjoined each other in the North-Western part of the Peninsula occupying a great portion of the present Bombay Presidency and a part of the present Central Provinces and Nizam's Dominions. The rest of the Peninsula was ruled over by Hindu or semi-Hindu Rulers.

Muhammedan connection with the Peninsula which is commonly and generally called by Muhammedan writers the Deccan (South) commenced at the end of the thirteenth century when Alauddin, one of the most ferocious of the Muhammedan Rulers of Delhi, raided this country on the most enormous scale reaching as far as Cape Comorin. Thirty years later Muhammad Tugluk, one of the most extraordinary and fantastic kings that ever reigned in Delhi, took into his head to transfer his capital from that place to Deogiri in the extreme North of the Peninsula, which he named Daulatabad. The people of Delhi were driven as captives from their homes to colonise a new metropolis. It is hardly necessary to state that the attempt failed.

The Rulers at Delhi had never anything more but the very slightest hold of any part of India South of the Vindhya mountains. In the middle of the fourteenth century a Delhi Muhammedan, named Hassain, who is described as having been a servant of a Brahmin and who was very probably of Brahmin parentage, founded a dynasty known as the Bahmini in the North-West of the Deccan, which existed for over one hundred and fifty years. This kingdom in its earlier days reached a high degree of prosperity, Hindus taking a very important part in its affairs, and it seems to have been much more impregnated with Hindu methods of governing than the Muhammedan kingdoms of Hindustan. The Muhammedan Nobles and soldiers of this kingdom were largely of Abyssinian, Arabian and Persian Gulf origin. We find, indeed, the name Moghul used over and over again as describing the nationality of the troops or of the Nobles, but Moghul has for centuries in the past in India simply meant foreigners from the West. The word Turk is indeed fairly

frequently used in the history of the Deccan, and where we find it we may be sure that the writer is speaking of the races of Turkistan or of Moghulistan, but the word Moghul has not at all the same significance.

By the time the fifteenth century had, however, fairly set in, the original vigour of the family had much abated, and the Bahmini annals during this century are one long history of civil wars, of cruelty and debauchery. Two parties in the State seems to have ever been at variance, the one consisting of the foreigners, and the other of the Deccan-born Muhammedans. These two factors were ever quarrelling and massacring each other. Before the century was over, the Bahmini kingdom fell to pieces, and five smaller kingdoms were founded by Nobles of the kingdom, *viz.*, the Adil Shahi of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnuggur, the Kutb Shahi of Golkonda and the Ahmad Shahi of Berar and the Barid Shahi of Bedar. The last two of these were but short-lived and never rose to be of great importance, but the first three became lasting kingdoms and we shall hear of them hereafter. A curious story is told by Ferishta as to the use of the umbrella in the Deccan. The founders of these kingdoms originally pretended to be simply Ministers of the faineant Bahmini kingdoms. The umbrella in the East has always been the sign of royalty. The founder of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty had, when he went abroad, placed a white umbrella over his head. His officers objected and he excused himself by saying that he used the umbrella only to shelter himself from the sun and not as a sign of royalty. To this they replied that if this was the case, they had no objection, provided general leave were given to them, and all his subjects also to use umbrellas. Such permission was given, and as Ferishta says from that time to this the King and the people alike in the Deccan carry their umbrellas over their heads, the King's being distinguished by having a piece of red on its top, all the others being white. Under the kingdom of Delhi no one save royalty ever dared to use an umbrella. It is only with the advent of British rule that an umbrella, save

to protect royalty, has come to be seen in the streets of Agra and Delhi.

The West Coast of India has since very remote times carried on a considerable commerce with the ports of Arabia and with the Persian Gulf, and not only in this way did many Arabs, Abyssinians and Persians find their way to India, but Western inventions found their way there also long before they reached inland Delhi. Thus we read of artillery worked by Europeans and Turks for one of the Bahmini Kings in the second half of the fourteenth century, within 50 years of the battle of Cressy.

The kings of the Bahmini dynasty and of the dynasties that succeeded it were, as regards morals, considerably worse than the Rulers at Delhi. Patricide was not uncommon; fratricide general; cruelty of the most brutal nature, a love of punishing by torture, seem to have been very common. Many of the kings seem to have drunk more heavily even than Baber and with none of the joviality which redeemed so largely Baber's debauches. Inordinate sensuality, unnatural lust, eunuchs often being the leading persons in the kingdom, mark the later reigns of this race. At the same time we constantly read of these kings being good Muhammedans, omitting on no account their five daily prayers. When the five dynasties came into existence, there was continually a change from Sunni to the Shiah faith and then a reversion—facts which would show that theology if not morality was to be found in abundance at the Courts. In spite of the low character of the kings and although famines and though plague now and again wasted the land, on the whole the picture of the Deccan in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century as given us by Ferishta is that of marked prosperity. For instance he tells us of the founding of Ahmadnuggur in 1493 A.D. and how in two years it rivalled Baghdad and Cairo. The Mahrattas (called by him generally Bergas) are frequently mentioned by this writer. The tactics in warfare which they subsequently adopted, such as the holding of fortresses, the declining general actions, the cutting off of the enemy's supplies,

were the regular tactics of the Muhammedan Kings of the Deccan long before the Mahrattas had any political existence.

Only a comparative small part of the Deccan belonged to the Muhammedan Rulers. Outside the North-West corner, throughout the whole of the present Presidency of Madras, the Southern parts of the Presidency in Bombay and the whole of the extreme South was ruled by Hindu Rulers. Hinduism in most of India has been a faith superimposed upon more primary faiths, and in the greater part of Southern India this superimposition, largely connected with the name of Sankhara Acharya, was comparatively modern, for when Baber became the Padshah of Delhi, traces of an older state of society and religion than the Hindu in many places were still to be found. In Calicut the king-killing custom referred to already as prevalent in Bengal, is mentioned by Muhammedan writers as having been in force. Probably, if we knew more of history of Southern India, we would find this custom in many other principalities of the numerous kingdoms which stretched down the West Coast. In the South no Hindu kingdom was more famous than the kingdoms of Bijanaggur. Its name is mainly preserved in history on account of its Rulers' endless wars with the Muhammedan Rulers further North ; the greatness of its capital town in the days of its prosperity is praised by Muhammedan writers, and that this praise is not without foundation is evident from the enormous ruins of the city which still exist, though the city itself was taken and destroyed by the Muhammedans more than three centuries ago. Its bounderies stretched as far North at the end of the fifteenth century as Goa, which was its Northern port, and South it stretched almost to the very limit of the Peninsula. Its riches and the number of its inhabtants seem to have been enormous. For seven centuries before Baber's accession, one family had ruled this kingdom. The Minister of the last reigning member of the family succeeded by fraud, and from that day its prosperity seems to have been on the wane.

A Muhammedan writer, Abdur Razzak, who came on some State business from the Ruler of Samarkand to Southern India in

the fifteenth century, gives in the Matlau Sadain a most interesting account of Calicut and Bijanaggur. He starts from Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, in the fifteenth century one of the greatest marts in the East for Calicut, but is first of all carried to Muscat on the Arabian Coast, on which coast he had to stay for months. Finally in the fair weather he sails from an Arabian port called by him Kariat and reaches Calicut in seventeen days. At Calicut he is struck mainly by two things, the extent of the commerce and the want of clothing worn by the inhabitants. From China to Eastern Africa, ships had their rendezvous at Calicut. Its chief exportation was pepper. King and peasant went alike almost totally naked. He also notices the custom of polyandry, vestiges of which are to be found in the customs of the modern Nairs. I should mention here that Ferishta tells us that in parts of the Western Coasts not only had a woman many husbands, but she also took the leading part in affairs.

At Bijanaggur the size of the city strikes his admiration. "The city of Bijanaggur is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls one within the other.

"All the inhabitants whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wear jewels and gold ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers." The wages of the police he tells us were defrayed by a tax on brothels.

Before Baber had won the battle of Paniput, the Portuguese were on the Western shores. First of the European nations to gain the sea trade of India with the West, nearly twenty years before Baber's arrival, they had established themselves as a great sea-power in Western India. Goa was in A.D. 1526 in the height of its greatness. And from this far off time when Europeans seized by reason of their sea-power a *portion* of India, they have never left go. Long did they lie low, but the ports and the seas being theirs, they have been able mainly through the power of their trade to hold on until the whole of India has become theirs. They have seen the Moghul, in some ways the mightiest of Eastern Empires, come and go; but they have remained. This

centre fact must be remembered that they were actually in India, organising an Empire, before Baber with his few thousand of hardy Turkish warriors invaded the plains of India. Both Baber's force and the Portuguese flotillas seemed but small agents to conquer a mighty continent. But both succeeded; the Portuguese power eventually merging into the power of other European nations and finally into that of the English. The slower to travel, the more certain to the result, and as far as modern eye can see at this day, there are only two possible powers which can rule Modern India; both are without it. The Russian with his oriental affinities, with his er ormous armies, with his Eastern qualities—the great Northern land-power; and Britain on the other hand with her world-stretching commerce, with her myriad ships and with her power of ever imposing fresh Western ocean-borne life. What is in the future is hidden from mortal eye; but Britain, if it will remember the statesman's saying that India is more likely to be lost at Westminster than in India itself, may well take courage and comfort from the past.

CHAPTER VI.

Baber's Reign at Delhi, 1526—1530

The spoil taken at Delhi and Agra was great. In the fort at the latter place were the wives, children and some of the chief followers of the Hindu Rana of Gwaliar kept as hostages there by Ibrahim Lodi. Humayun, Baber's eldest son, seized them as they were escaping and preserved them from being plundered. To show their gratitude they presented him with a magnificent present of jewels and precious stones, including a diamond, valued by Tavernier, a French traveller, a century and a half later at £880,000. This diamond was long the chief ornament in the Moghul's Crown, rich as this became beyond all other crowns. The booty was divided by Baber with a free hand; so much so that Baber was given the nickname of the Kalender—a name well enough known to all from the Arabian Nights—a voluntary beggar. But, although he was thus lavish in his gifts, he did

not thereby reconcile his chiefs to stay in the country they had conquered. They looked on the expedition as one similar to that of Taimur's more than a century ago, one with plenty of fighting and plenty of loot and then a return from the torrid plains of Hindustan to the cool highlands of Afghanistan and Central Asia. Nor did Baber's position invite them to stay. He held Delhi and Agra it is true; but everywhere around swarmed enemies or what the later Muhammedan historians would name rebels. The Afghans had ruled the greater part of Hindustan for more than three centuries and had no intention to make way for the Chagatai Turks. Unpopular Ibrahim had been, but with him out of the way they were quite prepared to accept and did for a time accept Sultan Mahmud Lodi, a brother of Ibrahim, as their leader and king. Agra had been taken in the hot weather in the month of May, when outdoor life is a burden and when the sun was Baber's Army's worst foe. I have already stated what Baber himself has written about the plains of India, about their ugliness and the ugliness of the people. No wonder then that his followers wanted to return to the cool shades of Kabul, to the cypresses and running waters of highland Afghanistan. Against all this Baber absolutely set his face. Calling his chiefs into Council he stated that after the labours of many years they had achieved the conquest of the Kingdoms they now held, and added :* "And now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kabul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? Let not any one who calls himself my friend ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart."

To this appeal—urged as it was by one having such a personality as Baber—there could only be one answer. Willing or unwilling, the chiefs determined to remain. Khwajeh Khan, one of the principal, however, was sent on some ostensible

* Baber's Memoirs. p. 336.

business back to Afghanistan. He had been one of the chief of the discontented. When leaving Delhi he wrote on a wall of Delhi the following couplet :—

If I pass the Sind safe and sound,
May shame take me if I ever again wish for Hind.*

To which Baber sent him the following satiric reply :

Return a hundred thanks, O Baber, for the bounty of the merciful God
Has given you Sind, Hind, and numerous kingdoms ;
If unable to stand the heat, you long for cold ;
You have only to recollect the frost and cold of Ghazni.

CHAPTER VII.

BABER'S determination had the best results. The Afghan and other Chieftains in the vicinity of Delhi and Agra, when they found that Baber had come to settle, thought it best to submit. Rohilkund, then known as Sambhal, quickly fell into his power, and he soon possessed a consolidated kingdom as far as the latitude of Agra. The Eastern Afghans, most of whom had been vassals of the Jaunpore kingdom, were dispersed without any serious fighting and his son Humayun took possession of Jaunpore. Kalpi, then a town of the greatest importance as being one of the regular fords of the Jumna, also fell into his hands, and by the end of the year he had become ruler of the Doab, the country between the Jumna and the Ganges down as far Allahabad ; he also had slighter but yet considerable control over the country East and North of the Ganges.

It was about this time that the fort of Gwaliar fell into his hands. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was the ruler of this fort, one of the strongest in Upper India, and one which had always been considered by the Indians as impregnable. I shall presently speak of the Rajput Power with which Baber had in subsequent times to contend. At the present I need only say that Rana Sanga of Mewar, one of the greatest Rajput Chiefs that had

* Baber s Memoirs, p. 337.

ever reigned in any part of India since the Twelfth Century, was pressing on the Muhammedan powers to the South and East of Rajasthan, and threatened Tatar Khan in Gwaliar itself, although this fort was not very distant from Agra, one of the great centres of the Muhammedan power Of the two, the Turk and the Rajput, Tatar Khan preferred the former, though naturally he would rather have been the servant of neither. Anyhow finding himself pushed by Rana Sanga, he applied to Baber for protection. This latter sent Rahimdad, an officer of his, to Gwaliar. On his arrival there he, however, found that Tatar Khan did not admit him into the fort and that he was not strong enough to take forcible possession of the place. A Dervesh of the place Shah Muhammed Husain sent a message to Rahimdad telling him that Tatar Khan had no intention to give up the place and that he should attempt to seize it no matter how. Accordingly Rahimdad begged that he and a few of his servants might be admitted into the fort and that his soldiers should be allowed to encamp close outside the walls alleging as his reason his fear of being attacked by Rana Sanga. This Tatar Khan allowed ; then Rahimdad applied to have certain of his followers stationed at the gate along with Tatar's Guard. This too was allowed. The natural consequence followed, his men poured in until Tatar Khan found that he had no option but to give up the fort. Baber received Tatar Khan kindly at Agra and granted him a Jagir.

Up to now, since the battle of Paniput, Baber had been contending with co-religionists of his, but he had now to meet a very different foe. Rana Sanga had an extraordinary career. The eldest son of Rai Mul, King of Mewar, during the large period of his youth he was self-exiled from his own country to avoid the enmity of his younger brother Pirthi Raj. Todd tells us the following story illustrative of Rajput manners about him and his two younger brothers.

*"The three brothers, with their uncle, Soorajmul, were one day discussing these topics, when Sanga observed that, though heir to the ten thousand towns of Mewar, he would wave his

* Todd, Rajasthan, Vol I, pp. 245, 246.

claims, and trust them, as did the Roman brother, to the omen which should be given by the priestess of Charuni Devi at Nahra Mungro, the "Tiger's Mount." They repaired to her abode. Pirthi Raj and Jeimal entered first, and seated themselves on a pallet; Sanga followed and took possession of the panther hide of the prophetess; his uncle, Soorajmul, with one knee resting thereon. Scarcely had Pirthi Raj disclosed their errand, when the Sybil pointed to the panther hide as the decisive omen of sovereignty to Sanga, with a portion to his uncle. They received the decree as did the twins of Rome. Pirthi Raj drew his sword and would have falsified the omen, had not Soorajmul stepped in and received the blow destined for Sanga, while the prophetess fled from their fury. Soorajmul and Pirthi Raj were exhausted with wounds, and Sanga fled with five sword cuts and an arrow in his eye, which destroyed the sight for ever. He made for the sanctuary of Chutturbhooja and passing Sevantee, took refuge with Beeda (Oodawut), who was accoutred for a journey, his steed standing by him. Scarcely had he assisted the wounded heir of Mewar to alight then Jeimal galloped up in pursuit. The Rahtore guarded the sanctuary and gave up his life in defence of his guest, who meanwhile escaped."

After this event there were constant quarrels between Jeimal and his uncle Soorajmul. In these Rana Sanga took no part. His two brothers met with violent deaths, one being slain by a father whose daughter he attempted to violate and the other being poisoned by his brother-in-law. The uncle left Mewar for ever and Rana Sanga ascended the throne of Mewar in peace in the year 1509 A.D. He warred with the Lodi Sovereigns of Delhi and defeated them as well as the Malwa rulers of the South; much of the latter's country he conquered; and so h became recognised within a very short space of time as the Lord Paramount of Rajasthan. Pressing Eastward he took Rantambhor, one of the great march fortresses of Muhammedan India facing the land of the Rajputs, South and West of the Jumna, and threatened as we have already said, Gwaliar. When Baber

became ruler at Agra, he found Sanga's territory extending to within a very short distance of its gates. The Rana was aided in his war against Baber by various Afghan Chiefs, the principal of whom was Hasan Khan Mewati of Ulwar, who preferred his country to his religion. In all the wars indeed between Hindus and Muhammedans, from the time of Baber down, we find certain Muhammedan chiefs who have preferred fighting for their country rather than for their co-religionists, but such chiefs have always been few. With the Muhammedan of India, as the Muhammedan of elsewhere, creed makes a stronger appeal than country.

The war opened unfortunately. Sanga was near Biana when the garrison of that place sallied out and was defeated. An advance guard sent by Baber himself was also routed the same day. After this Baber found it necessary to pitch his camp at Sikri, now known as Fatehpur Sikri. From there another detachment under the lead of Abdul Aziz, having advanced imprudently, was also cut up. The consequences were disastrous. Baber found himself confined to his camp, and was forced strongly to entrench himself, chaining together guns and fortifying the parts of his camp unprotected by them (for he had but a few) with an elaborate system of ropes made from twisted leather. Rana Sanga's light troops scoured the country, provisions ran short and in a fortnight's time his position to him seemed almost desperate. As he tells us in his Memoirs, general consternation and alarm prevailed among his followers, both great and small. In such a state Baber had resort to what many other great leaders have in similar cases done. He made a most powerful appeal to his soldiers, alike to their sense of honour and to their religious feelings.

Calling together an assembly he addressed them as follows :—

* "Noblemen and Soldiers : Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life, must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality, must one day inevitably

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 357.

take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy.

With fame, even if I die, I am content;
Let fame be mine, since my body is Death.

The most High God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that if we fail in the field, we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then with one accord, swear on God's Holy Word, that none of us will ever think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

The effect was magical. One and all seized the Korans and swore that they would conquer or die; at the same time to show that his reformation was sincere, Baber broke all his wine cups, poured out his wine, and as we never read of his drinking again, we may conclude that from the date of the battle of Sikri or battle of Karwa as it is called by Erskine, Baber became a total abstainer from all strong drinks. The details of the * battle that followed are differently given by Baber and by the Annalists of Rajputana, but both agree that it commenced with a desperate charge by the Rajputs on Baber's right. Both agree that the Rajputs charged both on the right and left most desperately, driving their charges well home, and that it was only after a protracted battle of hours that they gave way, but whereas Baber ascribes his victory to the action of his centre where he had his guns, the Rajput Annalists describe Sanga's defeat to the treachery of a Rajput chief. In any case the rout was complete. Hasan Khan Mewati, the leader of the Western Afghans, was killed, so also were the representatives of almost every great Rajput family throughout Rajputana, and never again during the generation of Baber and Sanga were the Rajputs ever able to take their offensive against the Delhi power. Great pyramids of the sculls of the slain were raised by the victors. From the date of that fight Baber took the title most dear to all

* Erskine quoting from Baber's Memoirs and Todd says they differ as to the date of the battle. Baber in his Memoirs stating it as February 1527 and Todd November 1528.

Muhammedan conquerors, that of Ghazi (conqueror of infidels). One more fight Baber had with the Rajputs when he stormed one of their strong fortresses Chanderi. This was held by Medini Rao, one of the most important local chiefs who had been serving under Rana Sanga. The outer fort was easily taken. The citadel caused more difficulty; when the Rajputs saw that all was lost they acted as Rajputs on various occasions have done in similar cases. Baber writes :—

* " In a short time the Pagans, in a state of complete nudity, rushed out to attack us, put numbers of my people to flight, and leaped over the ramparts. Some of our troops were attacked furiously and put to the sword. The reason of this desperate sally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they had put to death the whole of their wives and women, and having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked in which condition they had rushed out to the fight; and, engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred Pagans had entered Medini Rao's house, where numbers of them slew each other, in the following manner: One person took his stand with a sword in his hand, while the others, one by one, crowded in and stretched out their necks, eager to die. In this way many went to hell "

We read of no further fighting between the Moghuls and the Rajputs during this reign.

CHAPTER VIII.

After his campaign against Rana Sanga, Baber sent his eldest son Humayun back to Kabul. On his way Humayun went to Delhi and forcibly took possession of some treasure he found there. This made Baber very angry and he wrote to him letters full of the severest reproaches. Baber in his Memoirs records a later letter written to Humayun, which is so human in its paternal mingling of affection and admonition, that I have no hesitation in making a considerable extract thereupon.

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 377.

"I have some quarrels to settle with you.* For two or three years past, none of your people have waited on me from you, and the messenger whom I sent to you did not come back to me for a twelve month. This, remember, is undeniable.

In many of your letters you complain of separation from your friends. It is wrong for a prince to indulge in such a complaint, for there is a saying—

If you are fettered by your situation,
Submit to circumstances.
If you are independent, follow your own fancy.

There is no greater bondage than that in which a king is placed, and it ill becomes him to complain of inevitable separation.

In compliance with my wishes, you have indeed written me letters, but you certainly never read them over; for had you attempted to read them, you must have found it absolutely impossible, and would then undoubtedly have put them by. I contrived indeed to decipher and comprehend the meaning of your last letter, but with much difficulty. It is excessively confused and crabbed. Whoever saw a Moamma (a riddle or a charade) in prose? Your spelling is not bad, yet not quite correct. You have written iltafat with a toe (instead of a te), and kuling with a ke (instead of a kaf). Your letter may indeed be read; but in consequence of the far-fetched words you have employed, the meaning is by no means very intelligible. You certainly do not excel in letter-writing, and fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show your acquirements. For the future, you should write unaffectedly, with clearness, using plain words, which would cost less trouble both to the writer and reader.

If you are desirous of gaining my approbation, you must not waste your time in private parties, but rather indulge in liberal conversation and frank intercourse with all about you. Twice every day you must call your brothers and Begs to your presence, not leaving their attendance to their own discretion; and after consulting with them about any business that occurs, you must finally act as may be decided to be most advisable."

* Baber's Memoirs, pp. 391—392.

The Eastern Afghans still gave great trouble and Baber had to undertake more than one campaign against them. In the first campaign A.D. 1528 which was on the Ganges, he threw a bridge across the river at Kanauj whereon the enemy after very slight fighting dispersed. In the second campaign which was of a more protracted nature, the most important event was the passage of the Gogra. Having crossed the Ganges more than once on his Eastern route and having taken Benares and Ghazipur, he finally proceeded by the Southern and Western bank to a place opposite where the Gogra from the North-West flows into the Ganges. The Afghans who were mainly the nobles of the Eastern Kingdom of Jaunpore had joined with the King of Bengal who had taken advantage of the state of the country to conquer Tirhut. Some of the Delhi Army under Baber's son Askari was on the left side of the Ganges and by a cleverly-concerted movement, this army crossed the Gogra at a point higher than the enemy and having done so proceeded to attack it, while Baber with other troops crossed the Ganges lower down. This battle which took place on the 6th of May 1529 was decisive. The Afghans were completely routed. Many of their leaders submitted, and the Bengal King hastened to conclude a peace. Those that still held out, were no longer able to stand before the concentrated Delhi force, and the last year of Baber's reign was free from any thing like serious warfare.

In his Memoirs he mentions in connection with this Eastern war his experience of gun-making and of artillery in action. Ustad Ali Rumi his artificer's first attempts at gun-making were not very successful. Ustad's big gun burst, killing eight people. Then he makes another which he names Dig Gazi (the victorious gun). He brings it into action and, as Baber remarks, "does very well with it. On the first day he discharged it eight times, the second day sixteen times, and for three or four days continued firing in the same way."

On his way back to Agra from the wars Baber stopped at Gwaliar which he greatly admires. The following is his description of it :—

*"Next morning, before noonday prayers, I mounted, and rode out to visit the rising grounds to the North of Gwaliar, and having seen them and the chapels and religious places, I entered Gwaliar by the Hatipul-gate, which is close by Rajah Mansing's palace, and proceeded to Raja Bikermajit's palace, where Rahimdad had resided, and alighted there just as afternoon prayers were over. The same night, on account of the pain in my ear, and as it was moonshine, I took some opium. Next morning the sickness that followed the effects of the opium was very oppressive, and I vomited a good deal. In spite of my sickness I went over all the palaces of Mansing and Bikermajit. They are singularly beautiful palaces, though built in different patches, and without regular plan. They are wholly of hewn stone. The palace of Mansing is more lofty and splendid than that of any of the other Rajas. One part of the wall of Mansing's palace fronts the East, and this portion of it is more highly adorned than the rest. It may be about forty or fifty gez in height, and is entirely of hewn stone. Its front is overlaid with white stucco. The buildings are in many parts four stories in height. The two lower floors are very dark, but, after sitting a while in them, you can see distinctly enough. I went through them, taking a light with me. In one division of this palace, there is a building with five domes, and round about them a number of smaller domes; the small domes are one on each side of the greater, according to the custom of Hindustan. The five large domes are covered with plates of copper gilt. The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles. All around they have inlaid the walls with figures of plantain trees, made of painted tiles. In the tower of the Eastern division is the Hatipul. They call an elephant hati, and a gate pul. On the outside of this gate is the figure of an elephant, having two elephant drivers on it. It is a perfect resemblance of an elephant, and hence the gate is called Hatipul The lowest story of the house, which is four stories high, has a window that looks towards this figure of an elephant, which is close by it. On its upper story are the same sort of small domes

* Baber's Memoirs, pp. 383—84.

that have been described. In the second story are the sitting apartments. You descend into these apartments, as well as to those last mentioned. Though they have had all the ingenuity of Hindustan bestowed on them, yet they are but uncomfortable places."

Bikermajit, the old ruler of the place, whose females Humayun had protected, at this time yielded to Baber the strong fort of Rantanbhor. With this the Military history of his reign comes to an end. He had the satisfaction, however, of learning before his death that his old enemies the Uzbegs had been totally defeated by Shah Jehan.

From Badakshan this news was brought by express post in 11 days to Agra. Baber had taken great pains after his conquest of Delhi to lay out a good road to Kabul and the West. Regular relays of runners were stationed on it, and serais and mosques were built at fixed intervals.

The story of the death of Baber is like that of his life, human to the last degree. Before passing to this, I must quote a few lines from the last letter written by him to a friend.

* "In the present year praise be to God, these troubles are over, and I ascribe them chiefly to the occupation afforded to my mind by a poetical translation, on which I have employed myself. Let me advise you too, to adopt a life of abstinence. Social parties and wine are pleasant, in company with our jolly friends and old boon companions. But with whom can you enjoy the social cup? with whom can you indulge in the pleasures of wine? If you have only Shir Ahmed and Haider Kuli for the companions of your gay hours and jovial goblet, you can surely find no great difficulty in consenting to the sacrifice."

Humayun, his eldest son who had returned to India, fell ill and the Doctors despaired of his life; at this time one of Baber's friends happened to say that when human help failed, God had in times past accepted an offering of the most valuable thing the sufferer possessed and had restored the sick person to health. Baber thereupon declared that his life was Humayun's

* Baber's Memoirs, p. 403.

dearest treasure and in spite of all attempts to dissuade him from making the offering, he retiring into his private apartment, prayed earnestly and then solemnly walked round the sick prince's bed three times. He then was heard to say that he had prevailed and that his son was saved, a beautiful story whether true or not. Anyhow Humayun recovered and shortly afterwards Baber died on the 26th day of December 1530. He is buried near Kabul with a running stream close by, near the town and country he so deeply loved. He was not the greatest but he was by far the most human of Eastern Conquerors; no stilted stiffness such as to be found in Taimur's Memoirs and indeed in almost all Eastern Chronicles are to be found in his life's story as told by himself, and whatever else one may think of him, we cannot rise from this story without a profound liking for this big hearted jovial tempered giant, who hides none of his frailties or of his sensuality and who does not attempt to make himself in any way superior to the general race of man.

CHAPTER IX.

HUMAYUN.

BABER was the chief bond of union connecting the mixed horde that had followed him to India. Most of his followers were Chagatai Turks, persons who either themselves or whose immediate ancestors had come from the regions North of the Oxus. Along with these were also numerous adventurers of every kind, polished Persians, rude sons of the steppes and desert, who either with the hope of plunder or on account of fidelity to their gallant leader had followed the latter across the Indus to the conquest of Delhi and Agra. Their total number was comparatively small, probably not more than twenty thousand adult fighting men in all. As far as plunder went, many had got all that their hearts could desire. Baber was, as I have already stated, called the Kalender from the profuse fashion in which he distributed the spoils which he gained in his conquests to his comrades and soldiery. Most of these latter, it is safe to say,

hated the country and would have much rather been in smiling Kabul or in their Transoxiana homes. Afghanistan and Turkistan, as are now called the countries from which these men came, are indeed in parts very hot in summer. But though the thermometer may often at times stand high, the heat at its worst is more easy to be endured than the heat of India owing to its being so dry, and then the season of excessive warmth is short and for most of the year, the greater part of these countries have a most enjoyable climate; whereas in Upper India more than half the year the weather is, especially to a foreigner, the very reverse of pleasant. Besides, as Baber remarks in his Memoirs, Upper India is exceedingly ugly; at least it appears so to people whose life has been spent amongst mountains and mountain streams. The rains Baber describes as the pleasantest time of the year, and this because then alone in the dust covered plains of the Punjab and the Ganges Doab is one's eye soothed by green verdure. Baber's influence had kept this motley crowd in India. What would they do now that he was gone? Would they, like Khwajah Kalan of whom I have written, hurry back to their hills, invoking curses on their heads if they ever again crossed the Indus stream. They were a small band of foreigners, much as the English were a little over two centuries later, amidst an enormous alien population. Inertia, the want of leaders led them to stay where they were; but their hold on the country was very slight, and if there had been any cohesion, any real central rallying point against the natives of the land, they would have been turned out and turned out forever. Fortunately for them, as fortunately for the English later on, there was no such rallying point. The great mass of the people were Hindus, and they, save the Rajputs, cared nought as to who should rule them. Anybody might do so, provided he left their religious, social and economic organisation alone. As to taxes, frugal as the inhabitants of India were (and still are) a very little did for them, and even if this little was reduced, it was easier to submit, even to die, than to fight. As for the Rajputs, since the day that Prithvi Raj had lost his life and the sovereignty of Delhi more

than three centuries back, the Lordship of the deserts of Rajputana with its few fruitful oases was enough for them, and this the Muhammedans did not covet. Only occasionally did Rajput chiefs push further, when a more enterprising Mewar chief than usual would invade and plunder parts of Malwa or Gujarat or may be threaten the Gangetic Doab itself. But such energy was but intermittent, and before Baber's death all fear of attacks from the Rajputs on the Delhi Kingdom had ceased with the great rout of Fatehpur Sikri. So the Moghul Emperors had really only the Muhammedans of the country and their fellow Moghuls with whom to deal. Most of the former had been in the country for generations and had lost much of their virility as foreign settlers commonly do in the Indian plains. It must be remembered too that neither the Muhammedan religion nor Muhammedan public feeling ordinarily reprobates marriage with women of any race whatsoever, that an Indian wealthy Muhammedan's harem would contain ordinarily largely women of the country (and low caste women too, who more easily become nominal Mussalmans), and it can well be understood that the descendants of the large limbed races of Afghanistan became in course of time hardly distinguishable in physique from the small slightly built Hindus. Amongst the Afghans in India, the tribal organisation which they brought with them from their native hills, still largely remained in force; by reason of this it happened that generally the more influential men's first or chief wife was an Afghan, thereby ensuring that a fair number of the Afghans settled in India were really of pure Afghan origin, but still the mass even of the so-called Afghans were rather Indian Muhammedans than Afghans so far indeed as race was concerned. From the Afghans of India, but of pure blood, a man of genius arose, who, as my readers will shortly see, turned the Chagatai Turks and their ruler out of India. If his successors had only been like unto him, probably the Chagatais would have returned but many years after, when the inevitable decay which attacks all Eastern Kingdoms had laid its hands on the Afghan Kingdom; but as it was Sher Shah had no genius as his successor, the Chagatai was never

thoroughly expelled and within twenty years of what seemed his final expulsion, he again ruled over the kingdom of Delhi. And so it came about that a foreign race, whose resources were in reality, though not in miles as far distant from their Indian capital, as were two centuries later the resources of the white races became for a century and a half the ruler of Hindustan. The great Akbar, the greatest of the race, by his policy of India for the Indians. a policy which according to one's point of view will be an object of admiration or the reverse, deliberately stopped these resources at their root. This was the beginning; with his successors the dead rot and corruption, which normally grasp an Eastern rule, when vivifying external sources of life are stopped, seized the Kingdom, and by the end of the seventeenth century the vigorous Empire of Baber and Akbar had plainly marked on it signs of dissolution as an Empire (though not as an organism). But this was, at the time of which I write, all in the distant future; the Chagatai Turk, virile, still redolent of the mountain and the steppes, ruled at Delhi, and whatever his faults were, brutality, sensuality, and the like, he was still every inch a man.

CHAPTER X

Baber left four sons, Humayun, Kamran, Hindal and Askari. They were all called Mirza, which indeed was a general name given to all the descendants of the great Taimur. I have already related how Humayun had been very ill at Delhi and how Baber believed that he had carried away his illness and taken it himself But although Baber's favourite and eldest son. he was by no means certain of succeeding to the Imperial throne. Muhammedanism does not recognise the law of primogeniture in the strict sense in which European races do. The fittest rather than the eldest son with them is the successor to his father's powers. In many cases the son is left aside altogether as amongst the primitive German races and the ablest and most respected of the relations succeeds. The same laxity prevailed amongst the Mongols before they became Mussulmans, and their change of

religion naturally brought about no change. So my reader will see that the last of the great Moghuls, Aurangzeb, could not have succeeded if primogeniture had been the rule of succession at Delhi. An intrigue was set on foot before Baber's death to set aside his sons altogether and to place on the throne Mehdi Khawaja, his son-in-law, a young nobleman about the Court. In this intrigue Khawja Khalifa, the Prime Minister, was mixed up; but all chances of success were shattered by Mehdi Khawaja's arrogance and folly which disgusted all his partizans and ruined any hopes he might have had of becoming Padshah. In Nizamuddin's Tabakat Akbari we read the following:

* "It so happened," writes he, "that Mir Khalifa had gone to see Mehdi Khawaja, whom he found in his pavilion. Nobody was present but Khalifa, Mehdi Khawaja and my father, Muhammad Mokim. Khalifa had hardly sat down an instant, when Baber, who was at the point of death, sent for him. When he left the pavilion, Mehdi Khawaja accompanied him to the door to do him honour, and to take leave of him, and stood in the middle of the doorway; so that my father, who followed, but out of respect did not push by him, was immediately behind. The young man, who was rather flighty and hairbrained, forgetting that my father was present, as soon as Khalifa was fairly gone, stroking his beard, muttered to himself, 'Please God, I will soon flay off your hide, old boy,' and, turning round at the same instant, saw my father. He was quite confounded; but immediately seizing my father's ear, twisted it round, and said hurriedly, 'You Tajik, the red tongue often gives the green head to the winds.' My father, having taken his leave and left the tent, called upon Khalifa, and remonstrated with him on his line of conduct; telling him that, in violation of his allegiance, he was taking away the sovereignty from Muhammad Humayun, and his brothers, who were accomplished princes, to bestow it on the son of a stranger. And yet, how did this favoured man behave? He then repeated what had passed, just as it happened. Khalifa, on the spot, sent off an express to call Humayun; and, at the same time,

* Erskine. Vol. I, p. 515.

despatched a body of yasawals or special messengers to Mehdi Khawaja to inform him that the Emperor's orders were, that he should instantly retire to his own house. The young man by this time had sat down to dinner, which was still before him. The yasawals communicated their orders, and forced him away to his house, reluctant as he was to go. Mir Khalifa then issued a proclamation, prohibiting all persons from resorting to Mehdi Khawaja's house, or waiting upon him ; while Mehdi Khawaja himself received orders forbidding him to appear at Court."

Consequently on Baber's death Humayun ascended the Imperial throne at Delhi without a voice being openly raised against him, though from the very first day of his reign rivals claiming parts of his father's kingdom sprung up, of whom some aspired to the Imperial throne of Delhi itself.

Humayun was only twenty-two years of age when he became Padshah. His nominal reign was for twenty-six years, but he actually only reigned in India for about ten from A.D. 1530 to A.D. 1540 when he was driven from his Indian Kingdom by the Afghan Sher Shah. He repossessed himself of a part of the kingdom only during the last few months of his life. His main characteristic may be summed up in the expressive Scottism "feckless." He seemed all his life constitutionally unable to think of the morrow. This want of foresight was probably considerably deepened by his attachment to opium The eating of this drug was an Eastern habit long before the British conquest of India. The action of the English Government, indeed, as regards India itself, has been directed mainly towards regulating and restricting its use. There was no such restriction in Muhammedan India. Brave as all the earlier royal Moghuls were, not one of them carried perhaps his bravery to such a point of rashness as Humayun. As a General, he seems to have been useless; but as a warrior, ready for any deed of daring-do, he was amongst the first. Witness his climb of the Champanir fortress where with a few followers he clambered up the almost inaccessible side of one of the strongest forts in India. He was credulous to a degree, always being deceived and never learning prudence thereby;

a lover of pomps and vain ceremonies—few Sovereigns in the East indeed are ever otherwise, but few have been known to be so fond of foolish ostentation as he. For instance he had halls dedicated to each of the seven heavenly bodies. One day of the week he held audience in each; and he himself and his Courtiers dressed in clothes of a colour conforming to that of the walls of these halls, each being painted differently. Save for an excessive liking for Astrology, he does not seem to have been more superstitious than other rulers of his time, and we read but little of his visiting the shrines of Muhammedan dead Saints in the hope of obtaining blessings from such pilgrimages. In this respect he contrasts favourably with his son, the renowned and liberal Akbar. Beyond all things he was not cruel; remembering he was a Moghul, and that the age was an age where Kings were one and all men of blood. In this respect his character deserves the highest praise.

Humayun's first act on his coming to the throne was to give Jagirs to his brothers. To Kamran he confirmed Kabul and Kandahar, which at the time of Baber's death were in the latter's possession; to Askari he gave Sambhal (Rohilkund), and to Hindal he gave Mewat (Ulwar). Kamran, who was the second brother, gave the most trouble, though the others were also only too often thorns in his flesh. The former's first act was to march into India, not nominally for the purpose of war, but with the intent to wait upon circumstances and to seize what he could. It was not long before he obtained possession of Lahore. Humayun, who had received from Baber in his death-bed the advice to live peacefully and in unity with his brothers, allowed Kamran to keep this important city though thereby he blocked himself completely from the West. But although Humayun for a time by this concession kept off his most formidable brother, he had other rivals to meet. Two great Court Nobles, both of them descended from Taimur, Muhammad Zuman Mirza and Muhammad Sultan Mirza, had both schemes on the throne. Both of them had adherents about the Court: both of them had to fly, both caused for many years much trouble and the careers of

both of them only came to an end after Sher Shah had driven Humayun from India. Besides them Sultan Muhammad Lodi, a scion of the Afghan race that had ruled at Delhi, took advantage of Humayun's first absence from his Capital to capture Jaunpore. Humayun's troubles with him were, however, short. He marched against him, defeated him and drove him into Behar where he shortly afterwards died. The house of Lodi after his death ceased to give trouble It was an Afghan of another family the Sur. Sher Shah who was destined to drive the Moghuls for the time out of India. His time was however not yet. At the time of which I am writing, *i.e.*, the years immediately after the accession of Humayun, Sher Shah was still a comparatively unimportant personage. He held out, indeed, at Chunar against Humayun's troops for a time, but he submitted nominally at last, and as far as outward appearances went, was, during the first three or four years of Humayun's reign, only one of a number of great Afghan nobles. Humayun had to waste a great part of his strength in fruitless campaigning in Malwa and Gujarat before the time of the Afghan came.

I have in the Chapter of Baber mentioned that Gujarat and Malwa, two Muhammedan Kingdoms, lay to the South of Rajputana. The King of the former land Bahadur Shah had become, by the course of events. one of the most powerful rulers of India. Sometimes helped by the Rajputs, sometimes without external help, by force or by intrigue he had before Humayun's accession made himself gradually Lord of almost all Gujarat and Malwa. Muhammad Zaman Mirza, whom I have mentioned above, fled to Bahadur's Court, and the latter declining to surrender the former was the cause of war breaking out between the Malwa Ruler and Humayun. It began by Humayun's invasion of Malwa.* Bahadur Shah had hoped to prevent this or at least to force Humayun to retreat nearer to Delhi by inducing rebels against the Imperial throne to lead their troops to Biana and other places close to Agra; but these were brushed away and Humayun would have been able to have met Bahadur Shah at a very early stage of the

* A.D. 1534.

campaign, had it not been for an appeal to his religious feelings. Bahadur Shah was besieging Chitor, the capital of the Sesodias, the most powerful of the Rajput tribes. They had lost greatly in power owing to their complete defeat at Fatehpur Sikri by Baber, and Chitor was now hard pressed. We are told that Bahadur Shah's Councillors had declared that as a believer Humayun could not attack Bahadur Shah while prosecuting a holy war; we are also told that Humayun, on hearing this, stated that the Ministers were quite right and that while the holy war continued he would maintain a position of neutrality And so it came about that he took no offensive step against the Gujarat army till after the capture of Chitor. This place fell in March 1535 A.D. The ordinary scenes at the carrying by storm of a Rajput fortress then took place. Women were put to the sword or thrown into the pyre, and then the Rajputs rushed on their enemy determined to die and desirous only to slay whom they could before death. Such is the reason given by the Muhammedan Historians for Humayun's delay in attacking Bahadur Shah ; but Todd, who uses as his authorities the Rajput annalists, tells us quite a different story. Chitor was simply lost by Humayun's usual habit of delay. No religious scruples according to these annalists stopped him ; he indeed was bound to succour the fortress on account of his having been sent by the Queen of Mewar, who herself was burnt on the pyre on the last day of the siege, a bracelet, which in Indian History has ever been a call for succour, not to be neglected on the pain of being considered absolutely worthless. This Queen had sent the bracelet to Humayun before open hostilities had commenced between him and Bahadur Shah, though the war near Chitor between the Gujarat Prince and the Rajputs was going on,—while the former was engaged at the extreme Eastern end of his dominions conquering the North-West of Bengal. As to this Todd tells us " *the monarch of India was so pleased with this courteous delicacy in the customs of Rajasthan, on receiving the bracelet of the Princess Kurnavati, which invested him with the title of her brother, and

* Todd. Rajasthan, Vol. I. pp. 263—264.

uncle and protector to her infant Oody Sing, that he pledged himself to her service, "even if the demand were the castle of Rantanbhor. Humayun proved himself a true Knight, and even abandoned his conquests in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge, and succour Chitor, and the widows and minor sons of Sanga Rana. Humayun had the highest proofs of the worth of those courting his protection; he was with his father Baber in all his wars in India, and at the battle of Biana his prowess was conspicuous, and is recorded by Baber's own pen. He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Chitor, took Mandoo by assault, and, as some revenge for her King's aiding the King of Gujarat, he sent for the Rana Bikermajit whom, following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe." We must not accept the story as told by Todd in its entirety as far at least as Humayun's motives were concerned. Doubtless he felt flattered at the Hindu Queen's attention, but his wars against Bahadur Shah were occasioned as much by motives of self-defence and of conquest as by a desire to prove himself faithful to the Rajput bracelet.

Shortly after the capture of Chitor, Bahadur Shah's forces came front to front with Humayun's forces near the town of Mandsur. Acting as it is said at the advice of Rumi Khan, the Commander of his Artillery, he avoided a battle; instead of which he constructed and fortified a camp, whereby he placed himself in a position in which he could not be successfully attacked. This policy proved his ruin, as has often been the case in the East. The camp was unassailable certainly, but the enemy scoured the country round, cut off supplies and acquired all the prestige which in the East falls to the offensive party. In the various skirmishes which took place between the two armies, the Imperial forces had generally the advantage; supplies ran short and the Gujarat army became reduced to the depth of wretchedness. Bahadur Shah at length, accompanied with but a few friends, fled. His flight was the signal for the total dispersal of his troops. Humayun's forces burst into the deserted

camp and pillaged to their heart's content. Bahadur Shah did not slacken his flight until he reached Mandu the capital of Malwa. Rumi Khan joined Humayun—possibly to save himself from the wrath of Bahadur Shah. The latter proposed to Humayun that he would surrender to him Malwa; while negotiations were going on, a small Imperial force scaled Mandu and Bahadur Shah fled to Gujarat.*

After the rout of Mandsar the war entered into a new phase. A large part of Malwa is hilly—in this respect differing greatly from the Gujarat plain. Mandu itself is on a flat hill just north of the Vindhya range. Such flat hills, with steep ascents on more than one side are not uncommon in Central India, and have from time immemorial been chosen for fortresses. Granted a good water supply, there was no reason why they should not hold out indefinitely against a besieging force, not furnished with artillery. As from Central India one gets to Maharastha, the mountainous part of Western India, which has as its backbone the Western Ghats, forts multiply themselves greatly; but the summits of the hills on which they are built are generally smaller, while to compensate for this the hills themselves are steeper and higher.

Humayun's victorious army did not stop at Mandu. It chased Bahadur Shah first to Champanir then to Cambay on the coast, from which place the King of Gujarat fled to Diu, in which was then a trading Portuguese factory. A large part of those of his troops, who had kept together, were in Champanir, and this place was forthwith besieged by the Delhi army, who blockaded it for over four months. At last it was taken by a night escalade. It was in this capture that Humayun showed the reckless daring to which I have already referred. The side scale had a precipitous face near the summit, 30 or 40 yards high up, which the assailants had to climb by stepping on hand spikes driven into the rock to serve as steps of a ladder. Humayun was the forty first to ascend. About three hundred in all got into the fort by this way before the morning dawned. The fort was taken

* A. D. 1535.

and the garrison with the exception of the Governor was put to the sword; one of the few instances in which Humayun's usual clemency forsook him. In fact Humayun seems at this time to have acted more cruelly than he ever did before or after. Some of the young men in his army, having deserted with the intention of establishing a kingdom for themselves, were taken and either executed or barbarously mutilated. The rest of the story of the Gujarat War, though told in great detail by Erskine in his invaluable History of Baber and Humayun, need not keep us long. Humayun after he had come into possession of the rich fertile lands of Gujarat including its capital Ahmadabad, as well as the hilly slopes of Malwa—lapsed into truly Oriental inactivity. His brother, Askari who was acting as one of his chief lieutenants became disaffected; revolt again broke out in the provinces near Agra; Bahadur Shah returned and drove the Delhi troops out of Gujarat. Owing to Askari's attitude, Humayun found his position in Malwa most difficult to maintain, and finally revolts near Agra and the success of Sher Shah, to whom we shall have now to turn, made Humayun abandon all his conquests in Gujarat and Malwa. Bahadur Shah did not, however, live to reign again for any time over Gujarat. Visiting the Portuguese Viceroy on board ship at Diu where, taking advantage of the recent troubles, the Portuguese had built a fort, though without any title of right, the latter tried to seize him. The story of what followed may best be told in Erskine's own words.* "The Sultan thrown off his guard, or perhaps suspecting no ill as intending none, laid ceremony aside, and towards the close of the day rowed off from the shore, with only a few attendants and went aboard the admiral's ship, to visit him, and to inquire after his health. No sooner, however, did he see the Viceroy, than he plainly perceived that his illness was a mere pretence, and felt vexed that he had gone. The Viceroy, on his part, had probably been taken unprepared by Bahadur Shah's sudden and unexpected appearance. During the conversation that ensued, a page came in and whispered something in his

* Erskine, Vol. II. pp. 92—93.

ear. In the state of mind in which the King then was, this little incident increased his uneasiness and excited his suspicion. He continued to sit, however, though the intercourse was forced and constrained; till the Viceroy, rising, requested to be excused for a few moments, as he wished to show his Majesty some presents that were intended for his acceptance, and left the cabin. This confirmed the suspicions of the King, who hurriedly intimating a desire that they might be sent after him, started up and hastened to his boat. He reached it and put off; when Emanuel de Souza, the Governor of Diu Castle coming up in his barge, invited him to visit the new fortifications. Rumi Khan Sefer, who was in the boat with the King, advised him to decline the invitation, as treachery was probably intended; but the King desired de Souza to come into the boat. De Souza, in attempting to step from his own barge into the King's, fell into the sea, but was taken up by Bahadur's attendants. This occasioned considerable bustle, and confusion; the cause was unknown, but the act of dragging de Souza into the boat, was observed by the Portuguese in the numerous vessels that lay on every side. Hastily concluding that an attempt was made upon their countrymen's life, in their eagerness to succour him, they closed round the King's boat, into which some of them leaped. The instant consequence was uproar and menace; blows speedily succeeded. Bahadur, totally unprepared for such an occurrence, and now confirmed in his supicions of treachery, threw himself into the sea, and was followed by Rumi Khan. After swimming for some time towards the shore, as he approached a Portuguese vessel, one of the officers held out an oar to assist him in getting in; when a soldier who stood by, struck him on the face with a halbert, and his example was imitated by others of his comrades, who repeated their blows, till Bahadur sank dead in the water. Rumi Khan was saved by a Portuguese to whom, on some former occasion, he had shown kindness. De Souza the Governor, was struck and fell overboard, during the scuffle in the King's boat. Neither his body nor that of the King could be found." From that day Diu has remained a Portuguese possession.

CHAPTER XI.

SHER SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

SHER SHAH'S grandfather, Ibrahim, was an Afghan of the Sur Clan. Buhlol Lodi, the first of the Lodi Emperors of Delhi, was specially partial to Afghans of the Roh Country owing to their having helped him when in great need during his wars with the King of Jaunpur. It was from this Roh* country that Ibrahim came. His native place known as Sharhgari in the Afghan and Rohri in the Multani tongue, is situated in the Sulaiman range which divides the North-West of India from Afghanistan. Sher Shah was of pure Afghan descent, his father Hasan being the offspring of Ibrahim and an Afghan Mother, and he being likewise the son of Hasan by an Afghan Mother. This fact and the short residence of his ancestors in India will explain much of his vigour and character. He was born in the lifetime of Buhlol Lodi, and thus must have been near his fiftieth year before he disputed with Humayun for Empire. His original name was Farid, the name of Sher Shah having been given him by Sultan Muhammad, a temporary King of Behar, at the end of Baber's reign on account of his killing a tiger with his sabre in the royal presence. Regarding his birth and early days, Erskine tells us: "†Omens seldom fail to attend the birth of every eminent man, and they were not wanting to Farid's. His mother, when with child of him, dreamed that the moon, in its full brightness descending from heaven, entered her womb. Waking her husband, she communicated to him her dream; upon which he struck her several blows. Surprised, she angrily asked him what he meant; and was told, that the sages of former times had advised that one who had a fortunate dream ought not, by dreaming again the same night to run the risk of counteracting its happy influence; and that his blows were intended to prevent her again falling asleep." In like manner we are told of

Note.—From Roh comes the clan name Rohilla. Rohilkund is so called from the large number of Rohillas who had settled there early in the eighteenth century and established themselves in that Country as a semi-independent Power.

† Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 112-113.

Farid, that when he was about four years old, as he was one day childishly whining to his father to give him a dirhem, a wise and holy derwish who was near, exclaimed aloud, "Great God, the Emperor of Hindustan is crying for a dirhem." This expression filled his father with delight, as confirming his wife's dream, and inspired him with high hopes of his son's future eminence; hopes which the boy's opening talents seemed early to justify."

His father when old became infatuated with a concubine of of Hindu extraction, who had borne three sons to him; and the consequence was that at her instigation he became greatly displeased with Farid. Consequently abandoning his home, his father had two Perganahs in Behar, South of the Ganges, Farid went to Jaunpur, where he employed himself in the study of Arabic. In this he obtained some proficiency, and when he became Emperor of Delhi he was very favourably inclined towards learned men. Some time after Hasan was persuaded by his kindred to attend the Jaunpur Court and to commit the administration of the two Perganahs into the hands of Farid. The grant of a Perganah (district) from a Muhammedan king was the conferring on the recipient most of the rights of royalty. A certain amount of revenue had generally to be paid to the king, though this was sometimes remitted; but the governing of the district, the civil and criminal administration and the method of collecting the revenue was left almost entirely to the grantee. It was while administering these two Perganahs in his early days that Sher Shah commenced using these administrative methods, as far as land revenue is concerned, which have continued with only modifications throughout India unto the present day. Many of his relations held Jagirs—grants of lands within these Perganahs. He reserved to himself from the outset the right to resume these. He then settled the method of appraising and paying the land revenue. This in India has from time immemorial been the main source of the income of Government, and a good or bad system and still more the good or bad administration of any system are more effectual in promoting the good or the ill of the people than anything else connected with the

Government. The Muhammedan law, as laid down in the books of their classical law authorities, recognises no one save the cultivator himself. No middleman is known to it. Such a system in its simplicity can of course never be practicable in a state of any extent. There must be Collectors and these Collectors must be paid for their trouble, the ordinary method of payment being a share of the collections. Under Hindu law the same theory of the cultivator paying to the Ruler prevailed as in Muhammedanism, but was much more complicated owing to the various vested interests in the land. Thus for instance in any village a certain part of the community was considered as more or less the landlord of the village, and any cultivators not belonging to this community paid to them and not to the King. Middlemen of every sort also sprung up, and so the system though appearing to be exceedingly simple was really very complex, often so to a degree.

Besides the payment of officials by a grant of Government Revenue, this revenue was largely alienated also to individuals as a reward for services. The recipient had often to pay a part of his collections to Government. This made the system still more intricate. Add to this that in India the principle of hereditary occupation creeps into everything from landholding to scavengering, and one finds evolved out of the systems of Land Revenue all the elements of a landlord system, not such, indeed, a system as prevails in the West, but still one permitting a non-cultivating class to have rights in the soil Such a thing in Mediæval India was indeed inevitable. Landlords in India have ever been officials too. In British India traces of this connection exist in Regulations mostly disused, directing landlords to look after the peace of their estates, but as a general rule the result of English rule has been that the landlord has ceased to be an official and has become a pure rent charger; being rarely a capitalist, a greater part of whose rent is a return for money invested. In Great Britain, on the other hand a large part of rent is a return for money spent on the improvement of the landlord's property, but ordinarily in India, it is nothing of the

sort; the Indian landlord toils not nor does he spin; to his income the expression the 'unearned increment' is eminently applicable; his old occupation is gone, and he has become, only too commonly, simply the partaker of a portion of the profit arising from the cultivator's labour.

Sher Shah started off in his reforms in the two Perganahs of his father by going back to the old Muhammedan rule and getting rid of the middleman. In the Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi we read "*When he had finished exhorting the soldiery, he turned to the peasantry and said: 'This day I give you your choice as to your mode of payment. Do whatever is most advantageous to your own interests in every possible way.'

"Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent; others preferred payment in kind (Kismat-i-ghalla). Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, and fixed the payments for measuring the fields (jaribana) and the fees for the tax collectors and measurers (muhassilana); and he said to the Chaudharis and headmen: "I know well that the cultivation depends on the humble peasants, for if they be ill off they will produce nothing, but if prosperous they will produce much. I know the oppressions and exactions of which we have been guilty towards the cultivators; and for this reason I have fixed the payments for measurements, and the tax-gatherers' fees, that if you exact from the cultivators more on this account than is fixed, it may not be credited to you in making up your accounts. Be it known to you, that I will take the accounts of the fees in my own presence. Whatever dues are rightly taken I will sanction, and compel the cultivators to pay them; and I will also collect the Government dues for the autumn harvest in the autumn, and for the spring harvest in the spring; for balances of Government dues are the ruin of a perganah, and the cause of quarrels between the cultivators and the Government officers. It is right for a ruler to show leniency to the cultivators at the period of measurement, and to have a regard to the actual produce; but when the time of payment comes he should show

* Elliott, Vol. IV, pp. 313—314

no leniency, but collect the revenue with all strictness. If he perceives the cultivators are evading payment, he should so chastise them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way." He then said to the peasantry :—"Whatever matter you have to represent, bring it always yourselves to me. I will suffer no one to oppress you."

The extract is long, but it deserves reproducing. It embodies in it the rules which have governed the wisest Indian administrators. Too often Indian land revenue collections have been pure robbery and tyranny, the Collector carrying off every thing he can ; only a part of which, generally only a small part, reaching the treasury ; in other cases a high assessment has acted as injuriously as open robbery could do. A lenient assessment and a strict collection of the revenue so assessed has been the Motto of the best, both of Muhammedan and English officials. This is not the place to go into the comparative merits of a payment by revenue in kind or by cash, but I might point out here that before the advent of the British Government a permanent settlement was never contemplated by any ruler, Hindu or Muhammedan. A uniform settlement over a series of years fixed on averages taken from certain data was adopted by Akbar, but this was only to save incessant trouble and oppression of the ryots by yearly enquiries ; but the fundamental idea underlying the assessment of land revenue, has always been that a fraction of the yearly crop belongs to the crown.

Farid was inexorable in putting down disorder. Once he learnt that any persons within his perganahs were behaving badly by oppressing the ryots or by theft or murder, no pardon remained for such. These he killed without accepting any ransom ; their women and children were sold as slaves. Such a rule, stern but just, soon had its effects. The perganahs became prosperous, and Farid's fame as an administrator spread throughout the Eastern Districts. But this happy state of things did not last long. His father returned from the Court at Jaunpur and with him came his Hindu concubine and her sons. The woman gave Hasan no rest until he appointed two

of these in Farid's place. So the latter left Behar and went to Agra to push his fortunes there. Becoming a dependent of Doulat Khan Lodi, the latter recommended him to Ibrahim Shah, the then King of Delhi, and besought the latter to invest him with the two Behar perganahs which were then nominally the property of his father. Farid told his story how his father, infatuated with a slave girl, was ruining the lands. But Ibrahim for reply only said,—"He is a bad man who complains against and accuses his own father." And so Farid had to wait at Agra till his father's death. Then he obtained investiture from Ibrahim and promptly left the Capital for the perganahs. The times were troublous, and only a strong hand and a clear head could safely steer through them. Farid had both. To the Governor of the perganah of Chaundh, who tried to force him to share the perganahs with his half brothers and who in a letter reminded him that the laws and customs of the Afghans allowed no rule of promigeniture, he replied :

*"Do you, Shadi Khan, tell the Khan from me, that this is not the Roh Country that I should share equally with my half brothers. The country of India is completely at the disposal of the King, nor has anyone else any share in it, nor is there any regard to elder or younger, or to kindred. Sikandar Lodi thus decided : 'If any noble dies, whatever money or other effects he may leave should be divided among his heirs according to the laws of inheritance ; but his office and his jagirs and his military retinue let him confer on whichever of the sons he thinks most able ; and in these no one else has a right to share, nor is any remedy open to them.' Whatever goods and money my father left, Sulaiman with my brothers appropriated before he sought refuge with you. Hitherto, out of regard for my relationship to you, I have said nothing ; but whenever he may quit you, I shall reclaim my share of my patrimonial inheritance from him. The Jagir and office were conferred on me by Sultan Ibrahim ; in them no one else has any share. But I said to my brothers, 'The Jagirs which you enjoyed in my father's lifetime I will

* Elliot, Vol. IV. p. 327.

continue, nay increase to you; but no one can participate in my office.' It does not become you to say, 'Give up Tanda and Mahu to Sulaiman,' I will not willingly yield them. If you take them by force, and give them to him, it is in your power to do so. I have not another word to say."

By stratagems and by fighting he not only maintained his hold on the two perganahs of his father, but also drove the Governor of Chaundh out of the perganahs under his charge. He made peace, however, with this noble and restored to him the perganahs he had taken, the result being that nothing further was heard of the pretensions of his half-brothers.

After he had settled matters thus on his own estate he went to Agra and served under Baber at Chanderi and elsewhere. Having studied the latter's military methods and the Moghul administration generally, he often used to say: "If luck aids me and and fortune stands my friend I shall easily oust the Moghuls from Hindustan." At the time naturally all thought this but vain boasting. Abbas Khan, the author of the Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, tells us as to this the following story which he says he heard from his uncle. "*I was at the battle of Chanderi, with the force of the victorious Emperor Baber, the second Faridun, and in attendance on the Khan Khanan Yusuf-Khail, who brought the Emperor Baber from Kabul, and Sheikh Ibrahim Sarwani said to me, 'Come to Sher Khan's quarters, and hear his impossible boastings, which all men are laughing at.' We accordingly rode over to Sher Khan's quarters. In the course of conversation, Sheikh Ibrahim said: 'It is impossible that the empire should again fall into the hands of the Afghans, and the Moghuls be expelled from the country.' Sher Khan replied:—'Sheikh Muhammad, be you witness now between Sheikh Ibrahim and myself, that if luck and fortune favour me, I will very shortly expel the Moghuls from Hind, for the Moghuls are not superior to the Afghans in battle or single combat; but the Afghans have let the Empire of Hind slip from their hands, on account of their internal dissensions. Since I have been amongst

* Elliot, Vol. IV pp. 330—331.

the Moghuls, and know their conduct in action, I see that they have no order or discipline, and that their kings, from pride of birth and station, do not personally superintend the Government, but leave all the affairs and business of the State to their nobles and ministers, in whose sayings and doings they put perfect confidence. These grandees act on corrupt motives in every case, whether it be that of a soldier's or a cultivator's, or a rebellious zamindar's. Whoever has money, whether loyal or disloyal, can get his business settled as he likes by paying for it; but if a man has no money, although he may have displayed his loyalty on a hundred occasions, or be a veteran soldier, he will never gain his end. From this lust of gold they make no distinction between friend and foe, and if fortune extends a hand to me, the Sheikh shall soon see and hear how I will bring the Afghans under my control, and never permit them again to become divided."

Such conversation naturally came to Baber's ears. On becoming personally acquainted with Sher Shah, Baber's respect for his ability and distrust of his aims increased, and he would have had arrested, had it not been for his speedy flight. Back in Behar he allied himself with his old enemy the Governor of Chaundh, and after the latter's death he became the virtual Governor in his place.

Jalal Khan Lohani at this time, *i.e.*, at the end of Baber's reign, held supreme rule over most of Behar, his head-quarters being at Patna. Intermittent war was carried on between him and the King of Bengal. He had thus two enemies, the Moghuls pressing him from the North and West and the Bengal King from the South and East. With Sher Shah's help, he defeated the latter; and Sher Shah after this victory kept all the spoil for himself. Such a course of conduct offended the Lohanis, Jalal's Kinsmen, and plots were formed to treacherously slay Sher Shah. From all these he escaped; eventually Jalal Khan fled to Bengal, and Sher Shah after considerable fighting became ruler of Behar. To effect this he had to gain over the local Afghans to his side and this he did both by handsomely rewarding them with Jagirs

and cash, and also by looking after them on the field of battle and not exposing them unnecessarily.

Chunar fell into his hands by a marriage with Lad Malika, the concubine of Taj Khan, who had held it for the Lodi Kings and who had been slain by one of his legitimate sons. There was after this murder a contest between the sons and the concubine and the latter, who had the treasure of her Master, surrendered both it and the fort of Chunar to Sherkhan on his promising to marry her which promise he kept. Chunar in olden days was a fort of great strength. Its sides are steep and it is difficult to escalade. It overlooks the Ganges, and is indeed the only strong place of arms for three hundred miles along the Ganges, from Allahabad to Monghyr. With it in his occupation Sher Shah had no difficulty in subjugating the country around. But for a while his course was stopped by Muhammad Shah Lodi, a relation of Ibrahim Lodi, the Delhi King slain at Paniput, entering Behar. Sher Shah was forced to feign obedience to him as Emperor. But this state of things did not last long, for in a battle between Muhammed Shah and Humayun, Sher Shah deserted and his defection led largely to the defeat of the former. After this Chunar was besieged by Humayun's lieutenants, but as I have already related, Sher Shah by feigned obedience managed to keep the fort in his own possession. And so when Humayun marched away to his wars in Malwa and Gujarat, Sher Shah retained Chunar as an outlying fortress against the Moghuls. He also, the Lodi family having by this time ceased to have any influence, became ruler of Behar, and the most prominent Afghan in Eastern India. Behar being his, he proceeded to attack Bengal; at the same time perceiving that Chunar was too exposed and isolated to be his stand by in time of need, he began to look for a more secure fortress, and this he found in Rohtas. This fortress stands on the Sone some distance above its junction with the Ganges. On the river side it stands several hundred feet above the river, the descent being almost a sheer precipice. On the other side it is also inaccessible, the plateau on the top is several miles in area and has a plentiful

water-supply; crops to support a considerable garrison, can easily be grown within, and so in the olden days it was an ideal place of refuge. Standing where it does its garrison is on the flank of any force proceeding down the Ganges on its southern side, and an invasion of Bengal with it and the neighbouring fort Shergarh, which was also held by Sher Shah unsubdued, is highly dangerous and imprudent as Humayun found afterwards to his cost. The fort had for hundreds of years been in possession of a race of Hindu robber Rajas—Sher Shah got possession of it by stratagem. Thus Erskine tells the story :—

*"With caution and secrecy he proposed to the Raja, Hari Kishen Birkis, to be allowed, in this pressing exigency, to send his harem and family, with his treasure and a few attendants, into the fort, as a place in which they might be safe from all the accidents of war. This was at first refused. But Sher Khan employed an able Agent, who gained the Raja's favourite wife and his Ministers by rich presents, and who represented to the Raja, that, in the doubtful enterprises in which Sher Khan was engaged, it would be an unspeakable relief to his mind to know, that, even should he be deprived of life, his harem and his honour would be safe; and that his wealth, such as it was, the treasures and the plunder of Bengal, instead of falling into the hands of his inveterate enemies, would enrich a friend who had ever been faithful to him. And the Raja, thus strongly urged, whatever were his motives, whether friendship or avarice, was finally persuaded to comply with Sher Khan's request.

The plan said to have been adopted by him was not altogether novel, and was founded on the severe and jealous delicacy with which in the East women of rank are treated. A thousand doolies, or covered litters, were provided, in each of which was placed a chosen Afghan warrior, in armour, and sent up to the fort. In some of the first, ladies were seated, to cover the deceit; in others were arms. When the persons in charge of the gates, stopped the doolies, at the head of the procession; and began examining them, Sher Khan despatched a messenger to the Raja,

* Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 147—148.

to remonstrate with him on the unspeakable disgrace he would incur, were his females exposed to view; and the Raja sent orders to let them pass without examination. As soon as all the doolies were within the fort, the armed men issued from them; the bearers and attendants supplied themselves with arms from the doolies; one party advanced to seize the palace, and another took possession of the gates, and admitted Ser Khan and his troops. Hari Kishen effected his escape by a private passage."

Akbar Khan declares the story to be an invention and tells how a Brahmin friend of Sher Khan persuaded the Raja to lend the fort to Sher Shah, partly by pointing out to him the advantages of so doing and partly by threatening to poison himself if his request was refused. I prefer the story of the doolies.

In telling the story of the capture of Rohtas, I have anticipated for Rohtas was not actually seized by Sher Shah till Chunar had been captured by Humayun. In my last Chapter I related how the Emperor had been forced to leave Gujarat and Malwa by the bad news he had received from Agra and particularly by what he had learnt of Sher Shah's successful activity. After putting down disaffection at Agra, Humayun leisurely marched down the right bank of the Ganges and after a six months' siege, captured Chunar. It was after this capture that Sher Shah got possession of Rohtas. While Humayun was spending his time in thus besieging Chunar, Sher Shah had been conquering Bengal. The Muhammedan kingdom which bore this name had as its natural boundary the hills which, from Raj Mahal running Westward, are, the Eastern extremity of the range stretching across Central India, commonly known as the Vindhyas. The only practicable road for an army of invaders to penetrate into this country, provided it does not come by river, is by the narrow pass between Raj Mahal and the Ganges. This pass is easily defended being narrow and steep. In former times the Aryan invaders whose descendants are the present high class Bengalees, may have passed over the hill sides; light cavalry bands of Mahratta robbers have found their way somehow across; but a Moghul army, such, as Moghul armies in India have been, with all

their tents and paraphernalia and with the harems of the Emperor and the chief officers frequently accompanying them, could only enter Bengal by Raj Mahal. This Sher Shah full well knew; and so while invading Bengal, he fortified the pass, so that the Moghuls might not follow him. Sher Shah did not actually command the invading army. This he left to an officer of his, Khawas Khan, who was afterwards joined by Jalal Khan, one of his sons. The affairs of Bengal were in confusion; after the death of its king Nasrat Khan, there were rivals to the throne, and so no efficient resistence was made against the invaders. Gour, the Afghan capital of Bengal, whose ruins even now though covered by jungle, attest former greatness, was besieged and after a vigorous attack taken. Sher Shah at this time tried to make terms with Humayun. He offered, in case he was left Bengal, to abandon Behar and to send all the ensigns of royalty to Humayun and to pay tribute. But he was outbid by one of the Afghan claimants to the Bengal throne. Probably Humayun or his chief advisers—one is never sure when speaking of Humayun himself—had found out by this time the worthlessness of Sher Shah's promises. His historian Abbas Khan has, however, a long account of what Sher Shah said when he heard his offer had been refused. We read: *"When Sher Khan heard this intelligence, he entirely gave up all trust in the promises and faith of Humayun, and said to the envoy: 'I have observed all loyalty to the Emperor, and have committed no offence against him, and have not encroached upon his boundaries. When I got Behar from the Lohanis, and the King of Bengal formed a design to seize that country, I besought him most submissively to leave me as I was, and not to attempt to deprive me of Behar. By reason of his large army and forces he would not attend to me, and since he thus oppressed me, the Almighty gave me the victory; and as he coveted the Kingdom of Behar, God wrested away from him also the Kingdom of Bengal. The Emperor has only considered the word of the ruler of Bengal, and has overlooked the service I have rendered, and all the force of Afghans which I have

* Elliott, Vol IV, pp. 363, 364.

assembled for his service, and has marched against Bengal. When the Emperor beseiged Chunar, the Afghans urged me to oppose him, but I restrained them from declaring war, and said,' 'The Emperor is powerful; you should not fight with him for the sake of a fort, for he is my lord and patron, and when he perceives that, in spite of my powerful forces, I pay respect to him, he will understand that I am his loyal servant, and will give me a kingdom to maintain this large army.' 'The Emperor desired the kingdom of Behar, and I was willing to surrender it. But it is not the right way to govern a Kingdom to separate so large a force from his service, and in order to please their enemies, to ruin and slay the Afghans. But since the Emperor takes no heed of all this good service, and has violated his promise, I have now no hope or means of restraining the Afghans from opposing him. You will hear what deeds the Afghans will do, and the march to Bengal will end in repentance and regret, for now the Afghans are united, and have laid aside their mutual quarrels and envyings. The country which the Moghuls have taken from the Afghans they got through internal dissensions among the latter.' "

Such reflections sound true; but knowing as we do Sher Shah's character and how in respect of keeping promises he was a typical Afghan,—Afghans are known even in India for their faithlessness—we can only smile at his indignation at Humayun's alleged breach of faith.

Down by the side of the river the Moghul troops came. Sher Shah had by this time his treasure in Rohtas, he himself with a body of light troops was in the hilly country between that fort and the Ganges where it enters Bengal, and Jalal Khan, who had with him a part of the troops that had conquered Gour, was at the Raj Mahal or Garhi pass which he had fortified. No serious opposition was made to the invading host which swept through the Behar plain. Its first check was at Raj Mahal. There Jalal Khan kept it at bay, as long as he safely could, without exposing the troops with him to capture or slaughter; and then in through the pass flowed the invaders into Bengal. Gour already taken by the Afghans, was now occupied by the Moghuls.

This was in the height of the rains. A part of the Imperial army returned to Agra; the rest remained in Gour for three months. With these stayed the Emperor. During these months, decisive of his future, no one was allowed an audience with him. Why, we are not told; probably opium, his harem and the indolence which so often seized an Oriental (or for that matter an Occidental too), in a country "where it always seemeth afternoon" such as Bengal is in the rains, were the causes.

Anyhow though he was idle Sher Shah was not. A modern visitor to India must vanish from his thoughts, in imagining the plains of India as they were in Humayun's time, the present wide-spreading system of roads inaugurated by the British Government, for roads in Behar and Bengal were then non-existent. Sher Shah did build a high road in his later career through a part of Behar, but its time had not yet come. During the rainy season in the East of India, large parts of the country became enormous sheets of water with here and there villages and gardens standing like islands out of them. Means of communication away from the rivers there are none, save by carriage on cattle's or men's backs, Accordingly the state of the army at Gour soon became serious. Supplies became scanty; disease set in; news from the Upper Country did not come, all messages being cut off through the vigilance of Sher Shah's men, and when it did come it was of the most unpleasant nature. The Emperor's brother Mirza Hindal whom he had left behind had rebelled and declared himself Emperor at Agra; Sher Shah had beseiged and taken Benares, was blockading Chunar and had threatened Jaunpur. In this advance on Jaunpur Sher Shah won his first victory in fair fight against the Moghuls, a force of whom were met by a force of Afghans, superior in number and routed. "A cock once well beaten," said Sher Shah, "does not again easily come to the scratch." At last Humayun determined to return. Leaving Gour in charge of a Moghul chief with a small body of troops, he made his way with much difficulty to a point opposite Monghyr, having had to cross various rivers on his way. These he passed over exposing himself thereby to being constantly

worried by Sher Shah's men, who appeared in force no where, but ever hung on his retreat. By continuing his course on the North and Eastern side he would have saved himself from this, for Sher Shah's men did not even then venture to advance far from the hills. Thus matters progressed, until Humayun halted on the bank of the Karunnassa river near the village of Chausa. Before leaving Bengal, he had heard that Sheik Bahlol, a man of great learning and piety, whom he had sent to Hindal to try and persuade the latter to abandon his rebellious attitude, had been put to death by his brother. A story told of the Emperor's brother Askari during the retreat from Gour shows how absolutely an army of mercenaries Humayun's soldiers had become. Askari was with the army on its retreat, his troops were the most efficient in the army; so Humayun promised him any reward he might demand if he extricated the army from its dangerous position. He thereupon replied that he would in such a case ask for a round sum of money, a supply of the most costly manufactures of Bengal, some handsome slaves and a few eunuchs. The officers on being asked, wanted higher ranks for themselves and higher pay both for themselves and for the soldiers.

Hindal's reign at Agra was but short. Erskine tells us that the most earnest remonstrances against his conduct, which had culminated in the execution of Sheikh Bahlol, came from the ladies of his father's harem.

*"When Hindal went to the palace of his mother Dildar Aghachah, he found her attired in deep mourning. On his reproaching her for assuming the garb of sorrow at a moment when accession to the throne called only for joy and festivity, that lady, whose affections made her far-sighted, with tears assured her son, that, far from participating in his delight, she saw, in all that was passing around her, matter only of profound regret and condolence; that she seemed already mourning over his bier, that, young and inexperienced as he was, he had given himself up to the guidance of evil counsellors who had engaged him in a course that could lead only to ruin. 'And,' continued

* Erskine, Vol. II p. 164.

rebellion against him. He only makes peace with you now from necessity and will not eventually abide by the treaty. Look on this opportunity as so much gain, and do not let it out of your grasp, for you will never again have such another." Sher Khan was wavering in his decision as to peace or war; but as Sheikh Khalil advised against the peace, he abandoned all idea of it, and determined on war. He had before sent for Khawas Khan, and when he arrived he ordered the whole of his troops to arms as if Maharta was approaching to attack them. When he had gone four kos out of his encampment he returned, saying the spies had reported that Maharta was yet distant.

The next day he again arrayed his army and moved out, and when he had gone several kos, returned, and said that Maharta was not coming that day. A little before midnight he assembled all his chiefs and said, "I have promised peace to the Emperor Humayun; but I have considered that all the good service I have rendered has produced no good fruit; and after all my loyalty to him in producing the defeat of Sultan Mahmud, he demanded from me the fort of Chunar. When I refused to yield it, he sent a force to take it; and when that failed, he came himself to seize the fort, by force, but abandoned his intention when he heard that Mirza Muhammad Zaman had escaped from prison, and had raised a sedition in the country. Moreover, Sultan Bahadur King of Gujarat, was coming to invade the country of Delhi, and so he was compelled to return. I sent my son Kutb Khan with him throughout the Gujarat campaign. Though I could have taken possession of the country of Jaunpur, etc., yet I did not commit any act of hostility, for the Emperor is mighty; and though I had the power I would not do any disloyal and evil act, that the Emperor might preceive I was his faithful servant, and desist from seeking. When he returned from Gujarat, he got his army in readiness and without regarding my loyalty, did his best to expel me; but as my fortune was great, he did not achieve his desire. I made every submission, but it was all profitless. When, in violation of his promises, he attacked Bengal, I lost all hopes in

his goodness, and apprehending evil from him, was compelled to declare hostilities against him, and I expelled his governors and spoiled his country as far as Sumbhul, and have not left a single Moghul in those parts. Now, with what hope can I conclude this peace with him? He makes peace and manifests a friendly disposition towards me, because his army is in want of horses and cattle and of every equipment, and because his brothers have rebelled against him. He is but playing with me, and eventually will not abide by this peace; but having appeased the rebellion of his brothers on his arrival at Agra, and refurnished his army, he will not fail to uproot and destroy me I have often experienced that Afghans are braver in battles than the Moghuls, who only got the country from the dissensions of the Afghans. If my brothers advise so, I will break off the peace, and will try my fortune." "They all replied: 'By your blessing, dissension has been banished from among the Afghan nation, and we all have been cherished by you; we will not fail in devotion and gallantry to our utmost capability. Your purpose of breaking off the treaty is most wise.' Sher Khan said, "I break off the treaty. I have put my trust in the Protector, and will fight the Emperor Humayun as Mian Nizami has observed."

The extract is long, but I cannot well cut it down, casting the light that it does on the character not only of Sher Shah, but of the innermost thoughts of the people of the time. The Maharta referred to was a Hindu Chief, who had sided with Humayun and against whom Khawas, *Sher Shah's Chief Lieutenant, was fighting. Humayun's troops were taken totally by surprise at the Afghans' onset. In any case there could have been but little chance for them. But even that little chance Humayun threw away. Despising the enemy, being as the historian says, a lion in bravery and in the full pride of his youth and confidence in his forces, he made no dispositions to meet the foe. The Afghans pushed on in steady order, and in a minute almost the whole Moghul force was routed. Baggage, treasure, harems, including that of the Emperor, all fell into the hands of the Conqueror.

* A. D. 1539.

she, 'to your other guilt you have added the stain of innocent blood. You have murdered the holy Shaikh. Away; and do not defile my palace with your presence' The prince used every means he could devise to soothe her resentment and sorrow, and insisted on carrying her along with him in his march to Delhi."

To this place he marched, only to find it strongly held for Humayun. His brother Kamran was called in from Lahore to help the defenders of the city, and on his approach Hindal retired and being pursued found himself forced to submit. Kamran recognizing his brother Humayun as Emperor, marched to Agra, and there began to levy troops in order to send them to his brother on the banks of the Karunnassa river. Humayun indeed badly wanted assistance But after a time Kamran stopped all preparations under the short-sighted idea that his own interests would be bettered by the overthrow of Humayun—a very short-sighted view as the future showed, for Sher Shah was not merely a foe of Humayun, he was a foe to the whole Moghul race. In the meantime (A.D. 1539) Sher Shah had ventured to bring his army face to face with Humayun. Both sides fortified themselves; but Sher Shah's troops were most of them in their own country and had by long experience learnt how to forage for themselves. The Moghuls, on the other hand, were mainly foreigners and were poor hands at bringing in supplies. The distress in Humayun's camp became acute, and his forces became much in the same position as Bahadur Shah's at Mandsur. The river Karunnassa is one of ill omen to Hindus, who cross the Ganges both below and above in order to avoid crossing it and the Moghuls, though not Hindus, were much addicted to superstition. A superstition too of this kind was just the sort to cling to them in their state of dejection. In the meantime Sher Shah was at his old methods. A treaty was proposed and negotiated; an armistice was seemingly entered into, and it appeared as if the two contending parties were really to make peace. A Shaikh, famous on account of his piety was sent to Sher Shah's camp to settle the final terms. What followed I give in Abbas Khan's own words.

*"Sheikh Khalil, in the presence of the Emperor's men who had accompanied him, debated earnestly and long with Sher Shah and strongly advised the proposed peace; and during the consultation the following words fell from Sheikh Khalil. 'If you do not agree with peace, away with you; declare war, and fight.' Sher Khan said, 'What you say is a good omen for me; please God, I will fight.' After the consultation Sher Khan gave to Sheikh Khalil money and rich clothes and manufactures of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, and captivated his heart by these presents and favours. Sher Khan then sent for Sheikh Khalil in private, and speaking of the reverence the Afghans entertained for the holy Sheikh Farid Shakar-ganj, and of their mutual fatherland and making him promises to his heart's content, said: 'I wish you to give me advice regarding peace or war with the Emperor Humayun,' for the learned have said, 'it behoves one to take counsel with the wise, with the intelligent, and with far-seeing holy men. Now, in you all these qualifications are united Tell me, therefore, without diminution or reserve, what your mind, clear as the sun, thinks concerning my well-being. Is peace or war with the Emperor most to my advantage?' 'After much hesitation, Sheikh Khalil said: By asking my advice, you have in two ways placed me in a great difficulty: first since I have come to you as an envoy from the Emperor, it is not right that I should say anything except to his advantage; and, secondly, you have asked advice from me, and those of old have said, 'if even your enemy asks your advice, speak the truth.' If I give advice contrary to my own opinion I shall act dishonestly. The Afghans for generations past have held my ancestors in reverence; and it appears from the miraculous precepts of the holy prophet Muhammad (may God's mercy rest on him), that it behoves him who gives advice to do so in good faith. I am compelled, therefore to speak the truth. War with the Emperor Humayun is more for your advantage than peace for this reason that, in his army the most complete disorder exists, he has no horses or cattle and his own brothers are in

* Elliott, Vol. IV, pp. 371—374.

The women in the last named were treated with all due respect, and the ladies of the Imperial household were shortly sent to the Court to Agra. Humayun himself was slightly wounded and though unwilling, was forced by his followers to fly. Plunging into the river, he lost his horse and was saved by a water-carrier, Nizam, who gave him his inflated water-skin and with its help got him across. Humayun promised Nizam to seat him on his throne, which promise he afterwards fulfilled in Agra by seating him on it for half a day. With much difficulty and after having been in danger of being taken more than once he escaped to Agra; there he was received as Emperor by both his brothers, Kamran and Hindal; but he had left behind him the best of his troops. Eight thousand veteran Moghul soldiers are said to have been killed or taken in the disastrous field of Chausa. The troops left in Bengal were hopelessly cut off. For a time they maintained an unequal struggle, but finally were totally dispersed, and it is said that only one man of note amongst them ever rejoined Humayun. Sher Shah on the evening after the battle related to his chiefs that he had dreamt in the previous night that both he and Humayun had been brought into the presence of the prophet of God, and that the latter had taken the crown and cap of authority from Humayun's head and put it on his directing him to rule with justice. Another story is that, like Richard III, he only declared himself King after considerable pressure from the Afghan nobles—in any case he was now proclaimed Badshah; the Khutba was read in his name, the kettle drums were beaten in his honour, and for nine days rejoicing was universal in his camp.

But festivities never detained Sher Shah long from serious business—he pushed his troops up the Ganges as far as Kalpi—a long way above Allahabad; and letters and troops were sent to Malwa and Gujarat, to announce his accession to the Badshahate and to demand help to expel the Moghuls.

These measures were not indeed immediately, completely successful. But still they were so far helpful that no help to Humayun came from the South and West in the impending

struggle. The Khan Khanan, Humayun's chief adviser who had been taken at Monghyr and who had recommended Humayun to crush Sher Shah years before, though an Afghan, was put to death. He was accused of having been the instrument that brought Baber from Kabul to Delhi and of having afterwards persuaded him to stay in the country. Humayun had been accompanied by his brother Askari to Agra. There they met the other two brothers. Hindal underwent the humiliation of being personally interrogated in public as to his revolt and of being publicly pardoned. Kamran was solicitous that Humayun should stay behind, and that he should march at the head of the troops against the Afghans. This Humayun declined to permit, nor would he agree to Kamran's retiring, as when his first request was refused, he wished to go to Lahore. But Kamran fell ill; the climate of Agra disagreed with him, and Humayun was finally forced to let him go: with him went his troops, Moghuls who had not been in the past battles. On the one side there were a band of mercenaries, the Moghul troops, disheartened by defeat, with no fixed confidence in their leaders, and corrupted by habits of luxury. On the other hand were the great tribal Afghan levies, which constantly got augmentations by new comers from their native hills, flushed with victory and led by chiefs in whom they had the trust, which arises from constant victory. The final contest was fought near Kanauj. The Imperial army crossed the Ganges to the Eastern side and there confronted the Afghans. Mirza Haidar, the cousin of Humayun, and author of the Tarikh-i-Rashidi who had become the King's friend according to the fashion of the Moghuls, gives us a most graphic description of the Moghul camp and of the battle that ensued. The Imperial troops had with them some heavy artillery which proved quite useless. They had an excess of baggage and of non-fighters and were altogether different in composition from the light marching hardy troops who had won for Baber the battle of Paniput. He tells us how the battle took place during the height of the rains, how desertions were numerous, and how he pressed on Humayun the necessity of fighting. He goes

on to describe the battle thus. "*On the 10th of Mohorrum, 947, we mounted to carry the plan into effect, and made our dispositions. As had been determined, the carriages and mortars and small guns were placed in the centre. The command of the guns was given to Muhammad Khan Rumi, to the sons of Ustad Ali Kuli, to Ustad Ahmad Rumi and Husain Khalifa. They placed the carriages and mortars in their proper positions, and stretched chains between them In other divisions there were Amirs of no repute—men who were Amirs (nobles) only in name. They had got possession of the country, but they had not a tincture of prudence or knowledge, or energy or emulation, or dignity of mind or generosity—qualities from which nobility draws its name.

The Emperor had posted the author of this work upon his left, so that his right flank should be on the Emperor's left. In the same position he had placed a force of chosen troops. On my left all my retainers were stationed. I had 400 chosen men inured to warfare and familiar with battle, fifty of whom were mounted on horses accoutred with armour. Between me and the river (jui-bar) there was a force of twenty seven Amirs, all of whom carried the tugh (banner). In this position also, were the other components of the left wing, and they must be judged of by the others. On the day of battle, when Sher Khan, having formed his divisions, marched out, of all these twenty-seven banners not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them, in the apprehension that the enemy might advance upon them. The soldiership and bravery of the Amirs may be conceived from this exhibition of courage.

Sher Khan came out in five divisions of 1,000 men each, and in advance of him were three thousand men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but calculated the Chaghatai force at about 40,000, all mounted on Kipchak horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the Amirs and officers of the army was such as I have described. When Sher Khan's army came out of its entrenchment,

* Tarikh-i-Rashidi, pp. 475, 477.

two divisions (jauk) which seemed to be equal to four divisions, drew up in that place, and three divisions advanced against their opponents. On one side I was leading the centre, to take up the position which I had selected; but when we reached the ground, we were unable to occupy it, for every Amir and Vazir in the Chaghatai army, whether he be rich or poor, had his camp followers (ghulams). An Amir of note, with his 100 retainers and followers, has 500 servants and ghulams, who on the day of battle render no assistance to their masters and have no control over themselves, so in whatever place there was a conflict, the ghulams were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their masters they were seized with panic and blindly rushed about in terror. In short, it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed us on the rear, that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the chariots, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Those who were behind, so pressed upon those who were in front that they broke through the chains. The men who were posted by the chains were driven beyond them, and the few who remained behind were broken, so that all formation was destroyed. Such was the state of the centre. On the right Sher Khan advanced in battle array; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp-followers fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the centre. The ghulams whom the commanders had sent to the front, rushed to the lines of chariots, and the whole array was broken: the Mir was separated from his men, and the men from the Mir. While the centre was thus thrown into disorder, all the fugitives from the right bore down upon it. So, before the enemy had discharged an arrow, the whole army was scattered and defeated. I had estimated the Chaghatai army as numbering 40,000 men, excluding the camp-followers (ghulam) and workmen (shagird pesha). They fled before 10,000 men, and Sher Khan gained a victory, while the Chaghatai were defeated on this battlefield, where not a man, neither friend or foe, was wounded. Not a gun was fired, and the chariots (gardun) were useless."

Humayun got on an elephant, and with the greatest difficulty crossed the river. He fled to Agra, but his reign was over. Fourteen years had elapsed—the batte of Kanauj was fought in the middle of A.D. 1540 since the battle of Paniput; during that short time the Moghul power had grown like Jonah s gourd to an enormous height, and again with serious opposition had become less and finally had disappeared. It was over, I say, but not for ever; another fifteen years, and then it came again. One great fact it had in its favour; whereas the Afghan Kings who supplanted the Moghuls were the sons of nobodies, the Moghul Leader was a descendant of Taimur and Chenghiz. As a Taimurid he could claim to be the legal Emperor, for since Taimur's invasion, one of his descendants was always considered to be the *de jure* King of Hindustan, Sayid and Lodi rulers at Delhi having simply professed that they were the absent Taimurids' vicegerents; and Taimur and Chenghiz were then, and have to quite a recent day been, the two names with which to conjure throughout the greater part of the Eastern world. They were the two men, to whom the disposer of thrones had by unmistakeable signs given the rule of this world; and to the Eastern no argument is so potent in favour of a particular family as that it has the Almighty on its side, and that its destiny is to rule.

CHAPTER XII.

Both Sher Shah and Humayun ascribed the rout at Kanauj to providential intervention. The former told his chiefs the day after the battle that he had dreamt on the previous night that he and Humayun had wrestled between the two armies, that after long and keen struggles he had been thrown by the Emperor on the ground, and that Humayun had tried to lift him up but could not prevail, which dream he interpreted as a message from the most High that he, Sher Shah, was to retain possession of the land of Hindustan; Humayun on his side ascribed his defeat to supernatural beings fighting in his opponent's ranks. Never

again did he face Sher Shah; from Agra he fled to Delhi on hearing of the Afghan's approach, and from Delhi to Lahore where he found his brother Kamran. But even there he found no respite, for the Afghans joined by fellow countrymen from all parts, pushed steadily on. Some of Kamran's men were willing to fight; but Kamran himself had had enough of Hindustan. He preferred to rule the cool highlands of Kabul with undisputed sway, rather than to enter into a doubtful struggle for the Empire, the result of which could only have been to make his brother again his Sovereign. And so he departed for Kabul, taking his brother Askari with him, Hindal attending Humayun who departed from Lahore towards the South-West. Mirza Haidar at the same time went from Lahore to Kashmir; under the King of Kashgar, Sayid Khan, he had marched into that country some years previously on the occasion of a raid by that ruler, and had been fascinated by its beauty as well as convinced of the easiness of its conquest. So, being called in by one of the factions, that at the time struggled for rule, he with a small band of followers marched into the valley and took bloodless possession. There he reigned with success for some years until he was slain in A.D. 1551.

Humayun made for Scinde, which was at the time under the rule of the Arghuns, hoping either to establish himself there, or to use it as a stepping-off ground for an invasion of Gujarat. His plans met with no success. The story of his wanderings is told in great detail by Jauhar, a personal attendant, who was constantly in his service from the days of the Kanauj fight till his wanderings ended in Persia. Jauhar's memoirs are one of the few works concerning Indian Muhammedan history, which is not overladen with Oriental Metaphor, and in which plain unvanished truths appear. Humayun tried to get possession by a siege of Bhakar, one of the most important towns on the Lower Indus, but in vain; his followers fell off; he had to abandon all attempts at carving out for himself a principality, however small in size, and had finally to quit the country altogether. During this part of his career, he suffered the greatest privations; often there

was but little food for his followers to eat, who suffered also from a scarcity of horses and baggage cattle; worse still these journeys being largely amongst the sandy wastes near the Indus he and those with him were at times almost perishing with thirst. It was during these wanderings that Humayun's renowned son, Akbar, was born. His mother was the daughter of Hindal's preceptor (or rather spiritual guide). Amarkot, an oasis in the sandy deserts of Jessalmir, has the honour of being the place of his birth, which event took place on the 15th of October 1542. Jauhar tells us that the Emperor was about twelve kos (twenty-four miles) from Amarkot when this joyful event happened. He, Jauhar, was asked what treasure had been committed to his charge. His reply was that he had had 200 ashrafis (gold pieces), a silver wristlet and a musk bag with him; but that the former had been restored at the Emperor's own orders to their owners; so that the musk bag alone remained This the Emperor ordered to be broken on a china plate and distributed amongst the nobles as a present in honour of the auspicious event. To such a pass had the son of the royal Kalender Baber come. It was while in these deserts that he was joined by Bairam Beg (also called Bairam Khan). This nobleman of Persian descent, destined to become the leading man in the State in the early part of Akbar's reign, was one of the most faithful of the Moghul's adherents. After Kanauj he had fled to a Hindu Raja who, fearing Sher Shah's wrath, had given him up to that Ruler's lieutenants. Directed to accompany Sher Shah in the expedition which the latter made to Malwa, he in a conversation with Sher Shah told the latter that real attachment never changes—a remark which prevented his advancement—for Sher Shah noticing his great qualities had treated him heretofore liberally. From the Afghan camp he escaped with difficulty. Being seized on his flight along with Abdul Kasim Khan, a noble of fine countenance and large stature, who was taken for him, he tried to save the latter's life by declaring that he and not Abdul Kasim was Bairam Khan. But the other said "See how my faithful servant to save me is willing thus to

run into danger; do him no injury, poor fellow—let him go." Bairam accordingly was released. Abdul Kasim was taken before Sher Shah who had him put to death. Sher Shah had great qualities; but neither generosity nor truthfulness were amongst them.

Humayun on leaving the inhospitable Indus made for Kandahar, then a part of Kamran's domain. On his way he learnt that Askari Mirza with a considerable force was coming to seize him. According to one account he was forewarned by a former trooper of his who, having been sent to reconnoitre, rode up and told him what was intended; anyhow he got away and just in time. Abandoning any hope of Kandahar, he continued his journey rapidly Westward, and after many adventures, entered the Persian Province of Seistan. Previous to doing this he had sent word to Shah Tahmasp, the King of Persia, that he was throwing himself on his hospitality. To this King this message was a cause of great joy. He had the kettledrums beaten for three days and sent a letter to Humayun to the effect that it would give him the greatest pleasure to meet him. Shah Tahmasp was a Shiah, and hoped to induce the royal fugitive to embrace this creed; he was also a King and an Eastern King and wished to indulge his pride and to display to his subjects the sight, so glorious in him and their estimation, of his receiving as a suppliant the King of such a wide realm as Hindustan. Kings' methods of conversion are not those of the ordinary missionary When sending a dress of honour to Humayun he included along with it the Persian cap, which bears the symbols of the twelve Imams, the great saints of the Shiah faith. This, Humayun declined to put on. Again, the King of Persia sent a message to him that if he adopted the Shiah faith he would protect and cherish him, but otherwise he would give him and his followers to the flames. Humayun did to a certain extent accede to Shah Tahmasp's wishes and did conform to a certain extent to the Shiah faith, this is certain. How far he did so, is a different matter. The historians of the Delhi Court give us here no help.

Shah Tahmasp received Humayun in the first instance in great state. As to this first reception we read:

"The Shah received Humayun with honour, and placed him on a cushion on his right hand. But his religious zeal was not long in betraying itself." After making some enquiries concerning his health and the fatigues of the journey, he said, "You will put on the taj" (or Persian cap). Humayun (taking advantage of the ambiguity of the term) answered, "The taj (crown) is a mark of greatness. I will put it on." The Shah, with his own royal hands, then placed the cap on the Emperor's head on which the Shah, and all the Khans and Sultans raised a shout, calling out "Allah, Allah," and bending down their heads, as in prayer, according to their custom. The Emperor then asked that the Mirzas might be allowed to be seated, but was told by the Shah that such was not etiquette. An entertainment, served by the Emperor's butler, followed. The Sovereigns ate together. When it was finished, there was another general shout and prostration, in honour of the coming of so great a potentate to the foot of the Royal Throne. To the spectators in general it must have appeared as if the Indian Prince had conformed to the Persian usages and faith."

On further occasions the Shah's arrogance constantly showed itself. On one occasion he received Humayun seated on a small carpet on which there was no room for Humayun to sit. In the East the right of one to sit with one's equal is guarded with great jealousy, and Shah Tahmasp intended by this act to show that he did not consider Humayun his equal. A Moghul noticing this tore open the ornamented cover of his quiver and spread it for Humayun to sit. Subsequently he was generously rewarded by the Emperor for this act.

Finally Shah Tahmasp was persuaded, probably largely by Bairam Khan, himself a Shiah, to act generously to Humayun. The latter was given a large body of troops wherewith to conquer Kandahar. This, when taken, was to be held by Humayun as a part of the Persian Kingdom or at least as a feudatory to it. With these troops in A.D. 1544, Humayun left the Persian Court resolved,

doubtless, like the person of whom I wrote in my accounts of Baber, never, if he could possibly help it, to see the Court or Country of Persia again, and it is here I must for the present leave him and turn my attention to the Afghan King of Hindustan, Sher Shah.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sher Shah, after the crowning victory at Kanauj, advanced rapidly and soon became possessed of Agra, Delhi and Lahore. When the Moghuls under Humayun and Kamran left the last-named place, Sher Shah's only care was that they should leave Hindustan, and so he made no attempt to cut them off in their retreat. Advancing slowly beyond Lahore, he got out of the region of unbroken plains and found himself involved in guerilla hostilities with the robber tribe of Gukkars. To quell them, he determined to build a strong fortress, which he named after his Behar fortress, Rohtas. Tradition says that one Todar Khatri, who was employed to build this castle, at first could find no labour, that in reporting this to Sher Shah, the latter told him that he had chosen him as a man of discretion and would supply him with whatever funds he might demand, so that money was to be no consideration; that accordingly Todar Khatri offered an ashrafi (gold mohur) for every stone brought, that this munificent offer induced numerous Gakkar labourers to come and work in spite of the boycott which their chiefs had desired to enforce; that once having got labourers to work he gradually reduced their wages until these became not much above the ordinary wage, and that in this way the Fort was built. Anyhow, after costing much money and labour, it was built; but although made a place of great strength, it never became of much use. It did nothing to impede subsequent invasions, and the Moghuls seem afterwards to have made but little use of it.

While in North-West India the chiefs of Roh came to wait upon their countrymen. Amongst them Abbas Khan, the historian, tells us was his, Abbas Khan's, grandfather. He thus relates what took place at the meeting:

*"The writer's grandfather, Sheikh Bayazid Kalkapur Sarwani, who was the successor to the very holy Sheikh Ahmad Sarwani, who was the grandfather of Sheikh Malhi Kayal, whose holiness and glory is famous all over the country of Roh, and whose disciples and followers most of the Afghans are, and whose descendants are celebrated for their austerity and for the strictness of their devotional observances, and who are also known for their gallantry and wealth; nor does any person excel them in honour and consideration; the whole race of Afghans acknowledge their greatness and their own, and their ancestors' virtues; this said Sheikh Bayazid came to Sher Shah at Khushab, and had an interview with him.

Since the previous Kings, of whom I have treated in this history, paid extreme respect to Sheikh Bayazid, he was very anxious as to whether Sher Shah would or would not show him the same civilities. The moment Sheikh Bayazid came unto Sher Shah's durbar, the latter came forward several steps to receive him, and abasing himself gave Sheikh Bayazid precedence. My grandfather expected that Sher Shah would give him his hand, but he said: "Embrace me." When he took leave also, he showed every sign of respect in friendship. When he returned towards Bengal, Sher Shah sent him back to Roh and gave him one lac of tankas in cash, as well as Bengal silks and clothes of Hindustan. The Sheikh said:—"Since the time of the Langahs the Biluchis have possessed themselves of the rent-free tenures of my predecessors." Sher Shah ordered that Ismail Khan, Biluch, should receive instead the pargana of Ninduna, in the Gakkar country, and that the Biluchis should be made to restore to Sheikh Bayazid, the rightful owner, the land of the Sarwanis, which they usurped. Ismail Khan dared not disobey the orders of Sher Shah, so he took Parganah Ninduna and the Ghakkar villages, and restored the Sarwanis' land to Shaikh Bayazid."

My English readers will notice how, in the writer's mind, austerities are quite compatible with gallantry and wealth. In a Muhammedan's mind austerity is not joined with abstinence from

* Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 388.

marriage nor from the world in general. The holy men of the East—they are not priests, for Islam recognises no priest, only learned men—have always had much influence, sometimes for good, oftener perhaps for evil. We shall meet them again in the reign of Akbar. After returning to Bengal to put down an incipient rebellion there and then proceeding to receive the surrender of the fortress of Gwaliar which had held out for the Moghuls, Sher Shah turned his attention towards Malwa. Mallu Khan, one of the principal officers of the old King, had succeeded in the unsettled days, which followed Humayun's retreat, in establishing himself as ruler of that kingdom and had taken the name of Kader Shah. When Sher Shah, prior to the battle of Kanauj, had written to him asking him to attack Humayun, he had sealed the letter at the top—a form in the East used by a superior addressing an inferior. Mallu Khan strongly resenting the insult, answered by a letter also sealed at the top. On this letter's receipt Sher Shah tore off the seal and placed it at the point of his sword declaring that if he ever met Mallu Khan he should know in what way to remind him of the indignity. On Sher Shah's invading Malwa, Mallu Khan found himself unable to contend with him. So making his peace, he attended his Durbar, where he was well received. Sher Shah took the opportunity of his army being on the march to show him its order. Mallu Khan saw with wonder and admiration that at every stage they threw up earthen entrenchments and that at no time was there any relaxation of discipline. Addressing the Afghan soldiers he said :—

*"You submit yourselves to wonderful labours and exertions, night and day you have no rest; ease and comforts are things forbidden to you." The Afghan replied—"Such is our master's custom. It behoves a soldier, whatever service his chief may order, or whatever labour or exertion he may require, not to consider it a hardship. Ease is for women, it is shameful to honourable men."

It was Sher Shah's strong will, and this alone that had brought this state of things about. Ordinarily the Afghan of history has been one of the least amenable races to military

* Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 393.

restraint. Finding that although his reception in Durbar was gracious his position was precarious, and that Sher Shah had no intention of letting him remain in Malwa, Mallu Khan fled, and in spite of attempts made to catch him managed to escape to Gujarat.

Sher Shah was now the ruler of the greater part of Hindustan. The plain lands near the two great rivers, the Indus and the Ganges and their tributaries, which constitute by far the larger portion of Hindustan had now come into his possession, but the Rajput country, save at its borders, did not acknowledge his sway. First of all he marched against Puran Mal at the Fort Raisin. This Puran Mal had once before gone on invitation into his presence. While away, his wife is recorded as having said : * "I will then break my fast when I shall see Puran Mal again, and the whole time he is away I will sit on a bastion of the fort and watch for his return." Her husband did return, and so she had no occasion for showing her devotedness by starvation.

The reason for Sher Shah's attacking him is thus given by the historian : † "Puran Mal, who has enslaved the families of the Mussulmans in Chanderi and has made dancing-girls of their daughters, and did not accompany my son Kutb Khan—him I will so punish that he may be a warning to others that hereafter no unbelievers in Hind may oppress and injure the families of Mussulmans."

After making this resolve, in a time of illness, we are told by the Muhammedan historian that he had a speedy recovery, doubtless the old story that nothing is so pleasing to God as the blood of an unbeliever. Thereupon he besieged Raisin. The siege lasted for six months, the besiegers preferring the slow method of bombardment and starvation to the more speedy methods of assault. Finally, Puran Mal determined to surrender, and this he did on condition that he received no injury to property or person. This was confirmed by the most solemn oaths. The sequel I give in the very words of Abbas Khan :—

‡ "After some days the widows of the chief men of Chanderi and others waited for Sher Shah by the roadside and cried out

* Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 392. † Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 397. ‡ Elliott, Vol. IV, pp. 401-403.

to him. Sher Shah asked who they were, and ordered them to be brought to him. They said: "We have suffered from this inhuman and malignant infidel all kinds of tyranny and oppression. He has slain our husbands, our daughters he has enslaved, and has made dancing-girls of them, and has seized our lands, and all our wordly goods, for a long time past. If you do not give us justice, hereafter, in the day of resurrection, when the first and the last of all men shall be collected together, we will accuse you." As Sher Shah was a believing and just ruler, on hearing these zeal-stirring words of the oppressed, the tears dropped from his eyes, and he said: "Have patience, for I have brought him out, by promise and oaths." They replied: "Consult with your Ulema, and act upon the decision they shall pronounce." When Sher Shah came back to his tent, he sent for all the Ulema who accompanied his victorious army, and related one by one the inhuman deeds Puran Mal had committed with respect to the wives and families of the Mussulmans, and asked them to give their decision. Amir Sheikh Rafiudin and the other Ulema who accompanied the victorious army pronounced a decision for the death of Puran Mal.

At night, orders were given to Isa Khan Hajib, that he should desire his troops to collect with the elephants in all haste at a certain spot, for that Sher Shah intended to make a forced march towards Gondwana. To Hajib Khan he gave secret orders that he should watch Bhaia Puran Mal and take care he did not fly, and not to speak a word of this to any living creature, for that he (Sher Shah) had long entertained this design. When the elephants and troops were at the appointed spot, they reported it. Sher Shah ordered that at sunrise they should surround the tents of Bhaia Puran Mal. Puran Mal was told that they were surrounding his encampment, and going into the tent of his beloved wife Ratnavali, who sang Hindi melodies very sweetly, he cut off her head, and coming out said to his companions: "I have done this; do you also slay your wives and families?" While the Hindus were employed in putting their women and families to death, the Afghans on all sides commenced the slaughter of the

Hindus. Puran Mal and his companions, like hogs at bay, failed not to exhibit valour and gallantry, but in the twinkling of an eye all were slain. Such of their wives and families as were not slain were captured. One daughter of Puran Mal and three sons of his elder brother were taken alive, the rest were all killed. Sher Khan gave the daughter of Puran to some itinerant ministrels (bazigaran), that they might make her dance in the bazars, and ordered the boys to be castrated, that the race of the oppressor might not increase.

Most of our accounts of Sher Shah are from the Court historians of the Moghuls, and hence much said about him, like much said about the house of York in English history, must be taken with due allowance for hostile feeling. But Abbas Khan is by no means prejudiced against Sher Shah, and he tells the whole story without the slightest sign of disapproval, nay one might say rather, that he thinks that Sher Shah acted quite rightly. In the East as in the West indeed, there has been cruelty enough; but the cruelty is never so repulsive, the treachery so often accompanying it never so hateful, as when it falls under a religious cloak; as in Europe never have deeds more repulsive and hateful been done than those which have been sanctioned by the formula that no faith is to be kept with heretics.

After this Sher Shah marched into Marwar, A.D. 1544, against its ruler Maldeo. He managed to disperse the latter's army by the old stratagem of having forged letters written purporting to be to him from Maldeo's nobles in which promises were made to desert in the day of battle. In spite of the protestation of these nobles that the letters were forged, Maldeo insisted on retiring. To wipe off the stain on their honour, some of the chiefs implicated led a most daring attack on the Afghan camp where, after a desperate struggle, the Rajputs were overpowered by numbers. In reference to this fight Sher Shah was heard to exclaim: "How nearly had I thrown away the Empire of Delhi in seeking for a handful of Bajri." * Marwar, the present state of Jodhpur, is one of the most sandy of all the sandy

*Bajri, a coarse Indian millet.

Rajput states. From Marwar Sher Shah marched to Chitor; but the glory of that state was temporarily under a cloud, and a timely submission saved the Raja and his people from a repetition of Bahadur Shah's invasion ten years previous. Thence he marched to Kalinjar. Here also he was carrying on, as he professed, a religious war against infidels. But the historian tells us also that the King had heard of the exceeding beauty of a dancing-girl within the walls and was meditating how he might take the place without the Raja's making a jouhar and without the girl's being burned. Religion and dancing-girls, a strange mixture, but perhaps not so strange as those who are ignorant of history may think. It was here he met his death. A shell exploding burnt him so severely that he died from its injuries a few hours afterwards. This happened in May 1545 A.D. When he knew that he was mortally wounded he expressed a hope that the fort would be taken during his lifetime. This was done; the place was stormed; by the time of afternoon prayers it was captured and its defenders, save seventy who escaped, were in the words of the Muhammedan author sent to hell. So died Sher Shah one of the greatest of India's rulers. Only five years had elapsed from the date of the battle at *Kanauj*, which elevated him to the lordship of India; but these five years had been years of intense work. Roads had been made from Bengal to the North-West frontier, serais and mosques built along them, trees had been planted, and a system of posts established. Steps had been taken to extend the revenue system which he had employed in the two paternal pergannahs to the whole country*; violent crime had been put down; even-handed justice was everywhere meted out, and the country was settling down at his death in an orderly fashion unknown since the days of Taimur's invasion.

If further time had been given him, if his reign had begun when he was younger and lasted longer, it is quite possible that

* The basis of this, it must be remembered, was a measurement; formerly there was no such thing as a measurement of each field singly; pergannahs paid so much and the revenue payable was roughly divided amongst the villages.

he would have been able to have raised an Indian power, which for a considerable time at least, would have resisted all invasions from the North-West. But as it was, his time was too short; he left no successor competent to carry out his work; his policy towards the Hindus was not such as to make them friendly to his dynasty, and when invasion came again from the North-West, his Kingdom in the hands of his descendants fell to pieces like a house of cards. He is buried in a noble mausoleum at Sahseram, now the head-quarters of a sub-division of the Arrah District, a grand mass of Afghan architecture, not far from the Fort Rhotas and in the centre of the scenes of his early activity. It was in his reign and by his direction that Patna became the chief town of Behar; previously the town Behar was the capital of the province. He had a fort built in the former place and all the Government work was withdrawn from the former capital. Abbas Khan passes an encomium on Sher Shah in the following terms :—

*"From the day that Sher Shah was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe in opposition to him; nor did any one raise the standard of contumacy or rebellion against him; nor was any heart-tormenting thorn produced in the garden of his kingdom; nor was there any of his nobles or soldiery, or a thief or a robber, who dared to direct the eye of dishonesty to the property of another; nor did any theft or robbery ever occur in his dominions. Travellers and wayfarers, during the time of Sher Shah's reign, were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch; nor did they fear to halt even in the midst of a desert. They encamped at night at every place, desert or inhabited, without fear; they placed their goods and property on the plain, and turned out their mules to graze, and themselves slept with minds at ease and free from care, as if in their own house; and the Zamindars, for fear any mischief should occur to the travellers, and that they should suffer or be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shah's rule, a decrepit old woman might place a basketful of gold ornaments

* Elliott, Vol. IV. pp. 432-433.

on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of the punishments which Sher Shah inflicted. 'Such a shadow spread over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a Rustam.' During this time, all quarrelling, disputing, fighting, and turmoil, which is the nature of the Afghans, was altogether quieted and put a stop to throughout the countries of Roh and of Hindustan."

CHAPTER XII.

With Sher Shah's death this time of felicity came to an end. His son and successor, Selim Shah, was as stern as his father, but without his father's genius. His reign was marked by endeavours to abase the Afghan Chiefs who surrounded his throne. This he did much as Ibrahim had done thirty years before, and the result was the same in both cases that when foreign invasion came there was no competent force to resist.

Selim Shah was the second son of his father. The eldest, Adil Shah, at the time of his father's death was away from the army at the Fort of Rantambhor. An immediate succession was imperative, and the troops at Kalinjar raised Selim Shah, who was on the spot, to the throne. On his accession he immediately wrote to his elder brother stating that he had been constrained against his will to assume for a time the title of a sovereign, but that his intention was to surrender this shortly to his elder brother. He accordingly requested him to accompany him to Agra. This the elder brother did on certain of the great nobles guaranteeing his safety ; an attempt at treacherously seizing him failed, and after meeting his brother and paying him homage he was granted the Jagir of Biyana, which he had chosen for himself. But within two months Selim Shah's suspicions were aroused and he sent Ghazi Mahali, one of his chief officers, to Biyana with a pair of golden fetters and with directions to bind Adil Shah and then bring him to Court. The latter appealed to Khawas Khan, who had been first of all Sher Shah's slave and finally his right hand man, and who at the time was the Governor

of Mewat (Ulwar). The Ghazi was at the latter's direction himself bound in the fetters he had brought. This of course meant open war. Adil Shah and Khawas Khan got together their forces and made a sudden dash at Agra. On the way, however, they passed by Sikri (now known as Fattehpur Sikri), the residence of the Chishtis, one of the holiest families in India. It was the eve of the Shab Barat, a great Muhammedan festival. There they delayed so long over their prayers and other religious exercises that they did not reach Agra till next day when the sun was high. Letters had already been sent by them to the chief nobles of the Court, asking them to desert, and many had promised to do so. But Afghans do not desert in the daytime, as I have already stated in writing concerning the battle of Paniput, and the consequence of their late arrival was that in the battle that ensued, the rebels did not get the help they hoped from a section of the royal forces. It was with difficulty that Selim Shah was induced by his wisest advisers not to retreat to Chunar, where lay the royal treasure. But once having determined to fight he fought bravely, and the rebels were totally defeated.

Selim Shah's favourite residence was Gwaliar. The fortifications of this place he greatly strengthened. He also built Selimgarh, a suburb of Delhi, the ruins of which lie to the South of the present Delhi gate. Rhotas Fort in the Ghakkar country he finished. The author of the Tarikh-i-Daudi says, as regards his building, that his performances can only be compared with the work done by the genii by order of Hazrat Suliman (King Solomon).

Besides building, his reign was, as I have already said, chiefly taken up with cutting off the heads of the tall poppies. Budauni says, speaking of his treatment of the Afghan Nobles that he swept them off like men from a chess-board. The details of all this dismal work need not long detain us. On one occasion we are told, Sind Khan, the brother of Azam Humayan, who was one of the chiefs of the Niazi clan, was taken by the King into the interior of his harem and there shown a number

of heads ranged on the wall, and was asked if he recognised any of them. Sind Khan without losing countenance told him who some of them were—these some including chief men of the State. On another occasion he had a number of his prisoners blown up with gunpowder in their prison at Gwaliar. On Azam Humayun's rebelling, he persecuted the whole Niazi clan with the greatest violence. The men were put to death, the women dishonoured. In this respect he was a great contrast with Sher Shah who never warred on women (provided they were Muhammedan). Shujaat Khan of Malwa revolted on account of his suspicion that Selim Shah had instigated an Afghan who had a personal grievance against him to assassinate him. He was defeated and driven out of Malwa; to this country he was, however, afterwards allowed to return. On one occasion, indeed, we read of Selim Shah having played a noble part. An assassin having attempted to kill him, it was suggested that he should be interrogated as to his instigators. "No," said Selim Shah, "put the wretch to death at once lest he make false accusations against innocent persons." This speech may, however, be referred to worldly policy as much as to nobility of character. On the Moghuls' threatening an invasion of the North-West he meditated the destruction of Lahore, an idea strongly held by Sher Shah. From a strategic point such a destruction would have been doubtless wise, as Lahore has ever been a half-way house Selim Shah died in A.D. 1553, and with his death went the remains of the greatness of the Sur dynasty. It struggled on for a few years, but its greatness had departed. It owed its existence first to Sher Shah's surpassing genius, and secondly to the common feeling animating the Afghans of India against the Moghuls. With the driving power dead and with the Afghans again returning to their normal state of quarrelling amongst themselves, it had no power of life, and so it has remained an episode only in Indian history. The Moghul, as we shall see, was all this time either dreaming of or preparing his return.

During Sher Shah's time there was much excitement in the Indian Muhammedan world owing to the teaching of one Sheikh

Alai, whose father had been a favourite pupil of Sheikh Selim Chishti. This Sheikh Alai had adopted the doctrines of the Mehdevis, an heretical Arabian sect, and taught the same with great zeal. Brought to Court he was sentenced to banishment to Hindia (near the Vindhyas); there he managed to gain the Governor over to his views; recalled to Court, he refused to retract, and Selim Shah, though reluctant, ordered him to be scourged. "At the third stroke of the lash he resigned," so says the historian, "his soul to his creator." We shall hear more of these heterodox sects of Muhammedans in Akbar's reign. Almost all of them held Sufi doctrines. Islam, as a religion, is singularly unspiritual. It is this craving for spirituality, for mysticism for a communion with God deeper than and totally different from anything that Islam offered with its prescribed ritual, that has raised these sects. Quietism and illumination has raised such sects everywhere throughout Christian Europe, but not to nearly such an extent as in Islam as the spiritual elements in Christianity allow thousands of mystics and pietists within the pale of its churches, whereas orthodox Muhammedanism repels the mystics brought up within it.

CHAPTER XIV.

With Selim Shah's death anarchy full and complete sprang up. His son, aged twelve, was murdered by his maternal uncle, Mubariz Khan, who assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah. But competitors sprang up for the throne from the Sur family; one of whom took upon himself the title of Sikander Shah in the Punjab; and another Ibrahim Shah declared himself Padshah at Agra and Delhi itself. A fourth member of the Sur family declared himself King of Bengal; and Shujaat Khan made himself independent in Malwa. Adil Shah was a vicious ne'er do well, but was fortunate in having as his Prime Minister a Hindu of the Bakkal or grocer caste named Himu. *By his low wit and pleasantry it is said Himu rose from obscurely selling his

* Erskine, Vol. II, p. 490.

worthless wares in a narrow lane among his wretched companions to be employed as a purveyor by Selim Shah; gradually he rose until he became Adil Shah's Prime Minister. Mean of stature, unable to ride on horseback, he showed indomitable spirit and proved himself, as long as he lived, the main stay of Adil's throne. A story told of an incident which occurred at the palace on the King's accession will show better than any description, the character of the Afghan of the time. Erskine tells us:

* "Sultan Muhammad, who did not often appear in public, having one day held a public durbar in the Fort of Gwaliar, proceeded, in the presence of his most distinguished nobles, to make a distribution of various jagirs. Among the rest, the Government of Kanauj, which was held by Shah Muhammad Firmuli, a nobleman of an eminent Afghan family, was taken from him, and conferred on Sirmast Khan Sirpani, also an Afghan, but of inferior note. Sikander Khan, Firmuli's son, a youth of handsome milen, but of a lofty and impatient temper, who, as well as his father, was present when this arrangement was announced, exclaimed, "What, are things come to such a pass, that our estate is to be given to a set of Sirpani dog merchants?" at the same time audibly hinting something about the field of battle. His father who was unwell, chid him for indulging in such language, and attempted to restrain his impetuosity, but in vain. Turning on his father, he asked him if he had forgotten that Sher Shah, intending to put him to death had kept him in an iron cage, from which he had been released only at the intercession of Selim Shah? Did he not see that it was once more the plan of the Sur family to bring ruin on them and their race? Was he blind, or was he so dastardly as tamely to submit to such contemptuous treatment? This violent conduct occasioned considerable confusion in the Durbar. Surmast Khan, a tall and powerful man, approached Sikander in a conciliating manner, saying, "My son, why all these hard words?" at the same time laying his hand soothingly on the young man's shoulder, but intending to secure

him and make him prisoner. Sikander, aware of his object, drew his dagger, and plunged it into the breast of Surmast, who fell lifeless on the ground. The uproar and confusion upon this became extreme. Sikander, infuriated with passion, drew his sword and attacked those nobles near him who attempted to secure his person, killing some, and wounding others. The King, availing himself of the disorder that prevailed, made his escape into the harem, then the doors were barred behind him. He was followed by Sikander, who made an attempt to force his way in, but it was too late. Several Amirs drawing their swords prevented Sikander's escape while he continued for sometime to slash around him like a mad man. At last Ibrahim Khan Sur, who had married Adil's sister, wounded him with his sword, and other Amirs rushing on overpowered him and put him to death. Daulat Khan Lohani, at the same time, with one blow of his sabre, slew Shah Muhammad Firmuli, the unhappy and innocent father. The whole affair lasted upwards of half an hour."

Ibrahim first of all drove Adil down to Chunar; after this Sikander drove Ibrahim out of Agra and Delhi; but then Sikander's attention was called back to the Punjab which the Moghuls had invaded; and he had to return to that country. Ibrahim was thus enabled to return, but was defeated by Himu who shortly after also defeated the Bengal Army. But while all this internecine strife was wasting away the Afghan's strength, Humayun was preparing to re-conquer the Empire from which he had been driven. To him and his fortunes I now propose to return, it being remembered that when he came back to India, the Afghans were fighting confusedly amongst themselves and that Adil Shah who had the title of Padshah was not in possession of either Delhi or Agra and was indeed only lord of Behar.

CHAPTER XV.

We left Humayun marching with a Persian force (A. D. 1545) to besiege Kandahar. This town was nominally a part of the Empire of Hindustan, its real master was Kamran. Humayun

had a special motive for capturing this place, as his son and heir Akbar was there, he having been left behind in the flight to Persia and being at the time under the charge of the wife of his uncle Askari whom Kamran had appointed as Governor of that place. His mother had accompanied Humayun to Persia. On the Emperor's approach Akbar was sent to Kabul. The siege being protracted, Bairam Khan was sent to Kabul to negotiate with Kamran as to the place, and after staying there sometime Kamran sent him back with Khanzada Begam, Baber's favorite sister, to whom was confided the task of inducing Askari to surrender the fort to Humayun. This Askari finally did, induced more by the vigour of the siege than by his aunt's solicitations. The town was given up to the Persians according to Humayun's agreement with the Shah, but only for a time, for shortly after, on the death of the young Persian prince who was nominally in charge of the Persian Contingent, Humayun determined to seize the place and this he did by means of stratagem. From Kandahar Humayun set out for Kabul, and on the road was met by his brother Hindal who had escaped from there. Kamran finding that he was not in a position to fight allowed Humayun to take possession of Kabul in peace. There the latter recovered his son Akbar. The next few years of his life were spent in constant contests with his brother Kamran ; in these Hindal was generally to be found on Humayun's side, Askari on Kamran's. No special interest connects itself with the details, and though we have the story at first hand from Jouhar the domestic, the latter's narrative is not to be compared with the vivid picture that makes Baber's memoirs such delightful reading. The most striking point in the narrative is that in one siege of Kabul—for Kabul was taken and re-taken more than once—Kamran exposed Akbar on the battlements so that the missiles of Humayun's force might possibly hit him. But the whole of Afghanistan is roamed over, at one time the story taking us beyond the Oxus to Badakshan, at another we being in the Indian low lands towards Peshawar or down to the South beyond Ghazni. Finally Hindal got killed on the field of battle, Askari was made a prisoner and

sent to Mecca, from whence he never returned, and Kamran after being pardoned by Humayun time after time was eventually blinded by the latter's orders. He thereupon proceeded to Mecca. During his exile he died, A. D. 1557, four years after the time of his being thus blinded.

Humayun was now free to carry out his long cherished scheme of conquering India. Before doing so he determined to make sure of Bairam Khan who was Governor of Kandahar and who, he feared, would surrender that place to the Persian King. It must be remembered that Bairam was a Persian subject. So Humayun marched to Kandahar. On nearing that place Bairam Khan went out to meet him, entertained him magnificently and drove all suspicion out of his mind. Bairam Khan, indeed, asked as a special favour to be allowed to join the Indian Expedition—and so at the end of 1554 A. D. Humayun marched from Kabul with three thousand horses leaving Bairam to follow with the main body of his troops. Rhotas— the Punjab Rhotas— was found abandoned and Lahore was taken without a blow, Bairam, whose forces had marched further south in the meanwhile, was driving the Afghans before him everywhere. The Afghans, we are told, held the Moghuls in such terror that though they were thousands in number if they saw the approach of but half a score of big turbans (the Moghuls are so described on account of their head-dress), they instantly turned and took to flight without looking behind them. Bairam seems to have had considerable trouble in restraining his own troops; one of the leaders Tardi Beg in particular gave him much trouble. Hereafter we shall see how Bairam treated this man when he thought his folly had brought about defeat. At present, however, the Moghuls pushed on until they met the troops of Sikander Sur at Machiwara, 1555 A.D. These latter were attacked towards evening; the huts in which they lodged took fire; the flames by their light enabled the Moghuls to use their arrows with unerring aim (my readers will note the bow was at this time the favourite weapon for fighting at a distance) and the Afghans soon took flight. Humayun joined Bairam Khan and in a battle

fought in June at Sirhind, totally defeated Sikander. The latter was forced to flee to the Siwaliks. There was now no foe between Humayun and Delhi and accordingly he re-entered Delhi in the month of July after an absence of fifteen years. The upper Gangetic Doab quickly surrendered to his arms and again he became Padshah of Delhi. His troops, thirsting for plunder, were, however, considerably out of hand and his first appointment of a Governor of Punjab seemed likely to wreck all his plans. For this position he had chosen Abdul Maali, a favourite of his own, head strong and presumptuous to a degree. Like Master, like troops. Anarchy again threatened. In order to remedy this, Humayun superseded Abdul Maali and appointed Prince Akbar as Governor of the Punjab. Bairam Khan became his Ataliq, (Governor) all power being centred in his hands. The result was fortunate; order was restored among the troops and when Abdul Maali attempted to show his presumption to Akbar, he was most effectively made to know his position. The Afghans had not yet been totally and finally defeated. More fighting was to come before the spoil would be divided; and it was well for the mercenary Moghuls that discipline should remain firm and unrelaxed. At this time Humayun met his death. The story is told how he was on the roof of his palace at the Dinpanah fort at Delhi, how he was descending therefrom when he heard the call for prayer, how thereupon he prepared to sit down till the call was over, but got tripped up by the skirt of his mantle and fell headlong on the floor below. The stairs are shown to the traveller till this day and nasty and narrow stairs they are. He was picked up insensible and after lingering a few days died on the 24th of January 1556. He left behind him an enemy still unsubdued, a minor son and a mercenary army. Fortunately for that son, unfortunately for the enemy, he also left behind him a strong man Bairam Khan equal both to the task of conquering the external enemy and restraining internal dissension and trouble.

Though strictly a part of the story of the reign of Akbar, here I may well tell of the end of the Sur Dynasty and the establishing of Akbar on the Delhi throne.

After his father's death, Akbar was duly proclaimed Padshah and placed on the Imperial throne at his camp at Kulanir in the Punjab. Humayun's death was concealed for several days at Delhi and it was only on the seventeenth day after that the Khutba was read in Akbar's name. In the meantime Himu was advancing from Behar with a great army and many elephants. Sikander Shah having fled to the Siwaliks and Ibrahim Shah to Malwa, both broken men without any considerable forces at their disposal, Adil Shah represented alone the Sur Dynasty. Pressing back the outlying Moghul forces, Himu soon reached Delhi. Here divided councils prevailed. Tardi Beg, the Governor, formerly so keen to fight, was now of opinion that the place should be abandoned, and that the Moghuls there should join Akbar in the Punjab. To this the other Moghuls did not agree. So South of Delhi a battle was fought (whether Tardi Beg and his troops joined or did not is uncertain), but anyhow a battle was fought in which Himu and his elephants were too strong for the Moghuls who had to abandon the Imperial City. One of the historians of that time suggests that there was an understanding between Himu and some of the Moghul chiefs; anyhow all was disorganisation amongst the latter's troops and they reached Akbar a beaten and divided force. Bairam's first step to restore order shows the determined character of the man. He put Tardi Beg to death. We are told that he did this without consulting Akbar in the matter, taking advantage of the latter's absence from the camp on a hunting expedition. Whether on this account or whether for other reasons the Moghul force which now advanced from the Punjab again became a disciplined army and not a disorderly rabble. Himu met them at Panipat. It is said that he had vowed to become a Mussulman previous to the battle at Delhi. If he had, he had not kept his vow. His dreams before the decisive fight were very unfavourable, but like other great men, however, he only trusted dreams when they promised fortune. On the other hand a Moghul madman skilled beyond all men in foretelling future events from the inspection of a blade bone of a sheep, a method of divination brought by the Moghuls from Central Asia,

prophesied for the Moghuls a great victory in which, however, one of the chiefs of the army should fall. Three days previous to the fight Bairam is said to have addressed the Moghul troops thus : * " This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign. This infidel has routed the whole Royal army, and is now making preparations against us. If you do your best in this business, with one heart and soul, Hindustan is yours. I place my trust in God. If we fail in this, you, whose homes are at a distance of 500 kos, will not be able to find an asylum."

He added to these exhortations gifts and promises of further gifts in the future, if successful. Full of enthusiasm the Moghuls entered into the fight. Himu, however, was full of fight too. First of all the battle went in his favour ; with his elephants and troops he pushed back the Moghul army, then while everything was going favourably, and he was leading successfully his troops on his elephant, an arrow struck him on the forehead. Sore-stricken he directed his elephant driver to take him out of the battle. He was captured, however, and brought to Bairam who put him to death. According to one account Bairam brought him bound to Akbar, and pointing out to him that it was his first success, told him to put the infidel to death with his own hand, which he did, thus acquiring the title of Ghazi. According to another account Akbar simply touched the wounded Himu with his sword. Anyhow Himu was killed and with him went the Empire of the Afghans. One Moghul chief, Abul Maali, was killed in the fight — not the former Governor of the Punjab who was in confinement at Lahore. So the historians say, was the madman's prophecy fulfilled, and so ended the battle of Panipat which placed Akbar firmly on the Delhi throne. After this fight he recovered possession of the kingdom as held by Humayun at his death without any opposition.

The rest of the history of the Surs may be soon told. Adil Shah was not present at the battle of Panipat and maintained himself for some considerable time in Behar where he still held Chunar and Rhotas. At last he was defeated and killed in a fight

* Elliott, Vol. V, p. 64.

with the King of Bengal. Sikander after being besieged by Akbar's forces in the fort of Mankot in the Punjab for six months surrendered, was allowed to go free and managed to reach Bengal. There he attempted to carve out a kingdom for himself but after some successes perished in fight; Ibrahim, who had fled to Malwa, left that country, and in some obscure fighting perished in Orissa. And so came the Sur family and with it Afghan ascendancy to an end. Still for some considerable time will we find Afghan chiefs reigning in Bengal, but all attempts to make the Delhi Padshahate an Afghan Empire disappeared and disappeared for ever. As far as Muhammedan might went, the ruling power, from the date of the second battle of Panipat, has ever been derived not from Afghanistan but from beyond, from Transoxiana and from the centres of the Turkish race in Central Asia

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CHAPTER XVI.

AKBAR.

AKBAR was 13 years old when he came to the throne. He reigned for nearly fifty years, dying in the year 1605 A. D. At his accession, although nominally the Padshah of Hindustan, the actual territory in his possession consisted of a small part of the Gangetic Doab (the land between the two rivers of Jumna and Ganges) and the greater part of the modern Punjab. His material strength lay in his twenty or thirty thousand Moghul troops. At the time of his death his rule either directly as Sovereign, or indirectly as Suzerain, extended from the Himalayas on the North to the Vindhya range on the South and from Western Afghanistan to Eastern Bengal. Throughout this enormous tract of country his will ran supreme. How this great change came about is the main subject of the following chapters, but before proceeding to details it may be as well to state briefly what in my opinion were the chief contributing causes to a change as wonderful as any that has been experienced in Indian History.

The first and chief cause was the state of the country itself and the peculiarities of its inhabitants. Hindus have always been more or less an easy prey to foreign invaders inasmuch as their bent of mind is essentially theoretical and not practical. It was about the time that Taimur invaded India during the period of decay of the earlier Muhammedan power that in Benares that wonderful system of legal ingenuity known as the Mitakshara, which governs Hindus in the greater part of India as regards property, and especially as regards the inheritance of property, was elaborated by the Pundits. Later on while the clash of arms was everywhere heard, in Bengal a further system of law, the Dayabhaga, saw the light whereby the rules of succession were based on the offering of funeral cakes to one's ancestors. This people ever busied itself with metaphysical and abstract speculation, most of them neither caring for nor excelling in arms. Leave us alone and we will leave you alone was their motto, and during the greater part of the Moghul rule the Hindu was left alone. As a cultivator he had to pay revenue to his Ruler; as a Kafir he might at times be exposed to indignity and occasionally to special taxation, but the Moghul rulers, as a rule, provided he paid taxes and did not disturb the peace, let him in other respects do what he pleased. So throughout Hindustan we find no popular Hindu risings against the Moghul ruler till the days of Aurungzeb towards the end of the seventeenth century when Muhammedan bigotry began to interfere with the exercise of the Hindu religion. As regards the Hindus of Rajputana, where Hindus were still Kings, there was absolutely no unity amongst the hundred and one princelets of that country. Rana Sanga had a long and uphill fight against rival Rajput chiefs before he was able to bring the united Rajput forces against Baber, and where Rana Sanga with great difficulties succeeded no Rajput of later days has done anything but fail; attempts at unity there have been, but these attempts have been ever feeble, and none have had even temporary success.

Turning away from the Hindus to the Muhammedans, who in those days were chiefly either Afghans or the descendants of

Afghans, the latter with a large infusion of Hindu blood by reason of their having Hindu mothers being by far the more numerous, we find amongst these people too no elements capable of affording a successful resistance to a foe who knew his own mind and whose power was concentrated and united Afghans, like the Cyclops of the old poet, lived, and loved to live, in isolated small clan communities without interference from others, each little clan being a complete kingdom in itself. In the story of Muhammedan Hindustan in the fifteenth century, we have already seen what an uphill battle against this centrifugal feeling had the rulers of that age to fight in order to bring about unity and how unity, even if attained for the moment, was quickly again shattered.

The so-called kingdoms were generally nothing more than the aggregates of smaller unities, which latter paid only a nominal subjection to the rulers who called themselves Kings. Sher Shah, a man of genius, was able indeed to join this loose community into one solid body, and having done so to expel the Moghuls, but after his death the old state of things set in, worse indeed than ever, and the Indian Muhammedans, instead of being one united community, were simply a large number of isolated groups. Accordingly neither Hindus nor Muhammedans were in a position to withstand the Moghul forces, provided that the latter were united amongst themselves and had a strong hand over them, preventing their disintegrating as the Afghans had done before. The fear of the Moghuls themselves splitting up, was by no means imaginary and the first few years of Akbar's reign was largely spent in repressing Moghul rebellion, but once this was done the rest of the work was comparatively simple. Given statesmanship, and this we will see Akbar and his Ministers had, which left the Hindus and Muhammedans alike alone, as far as it was compatible with the supremacy of the Moghul power, the physical force which Akbar had in his Moghul troops was more than sufficient to meet any foe whatever that came against him. Those that love analogies may find one in the British rule from 1750 to 1800 when it first

became a power in India. This period may well be compared to Akbar's fifty years of rule. In both cases the conquerors took care not to offend the religious or social prejudices of the people and to leave them alone as far as possible, and in both cases they strove on the whole to introduce good and honest administration. A further resemblance may be found that neither invader had ever to war with more than a fractional part of the forces of the country at a time.

To the physical force wielded by Akbar and to the strength which his power acquired by sound administration must be added the moral strength of his position according to Eastern ideas in which legitimacy takes the highest place,—the fact that he was descended from the great Taimur and from Chenghiz Khan; these being to the Muhammedans of Asia what David and his line were to the devout Jew, names wherewith to conjure, though one of them was never a Muhammedan at all and the other's wars were chiefly with believers and not infidels.

CHAPTER XVII.

One of the great difficulties in judging the character of Akbar aright, is the amount of panegyric bestowed on him not only by Easterns such as Abul Fazl but also by Westerns. That he was the greatest of Indian Monarchs—one may well allow, that his life work, which was the establishment of Moghul rule as the settled rule for Hindustan and eventually for the greater part of the Deccan, was well done; that it was he, and he with comparatively small assistance, that caused this rule to become a real, powerful, far-reaching social administration, instead of simply a revenue-squeezing plundering system, such as is too commonly the case with the systems arising out of Eastern conquests; all this is perfectly true. But when it is put forward on his behalf that he was rather a demi-god than a mortal, that he was totally different from his contemporaries as regards moral and mental character, I am bound to note that this is hardly borne out by the facts. Akbar was essentially a man of his age. Like his

father, still more like his grandfather, he had a great generous nature; with a disposition ready ever to forgive, but this did not make him specially careful of human life. Pyramids of skulls were raised by his armies as they had been in Baber's reign and in the reigns of the great Moghul and Turkish conquerors before his enemies he put to death remorselessly, whether they were Hindu or Muhammedan; he carried about poisonous pills to be administered to those whom he wished to secretly destroy, and all that can be said of him in this respect is that he was less cruel than any one of the other ruling Muhammedan princes of the day, from Constantinople and Cairo to remotest Bengal. As to his religious changes, these probably emanated in the first instance from his marriages with Rajput princesses, who, like the wives of Solomon, led him away from the teachings of his youth. In particular he was forced to leave the orthodox Sunni Jamaat (Sunni assembly) by the fact that he had more than four wives. A Muhammedan Sunni may have as many concubines as he wishes— the Sultan of Turkey indeed never marries but only has concubines—but of wives he may have only four at one time. At a very early age Akbar's wives exceeded this number, and whatever flattering Court Doctors might say, Akbar knew full well that to orthodox Sunni ideas his extra wives were but concubines. The Shiahs claim the right to have as many temporary wives (Mutahis) as they wish; and as their term may be anything from one hour to ninety-nine years, it is easy to see that their views on this all-important matter were the more pleasing to Akbar.* Hindus deify men even when living; Oriental rule always tends to absolutism; remember the Hindu wives and the absolutism of Akbar's rule and one can easily understand how he could fancy himself able to become if not a god, god's representative, even while living; not waiting for death as a Roman Emperor did for his deification. As to his religious ideas and the toleration he had for all sects, it must be noticed that his toleration did not extend to the strictly orthodox of his ancestral religion; I shall treat of this at some length there-

* Note—Such wives however may not be idolators.

after; at present I only say that most of his religious ideas can be explained by Hinduism and Sufi-ism, and that he fell under the influence of these two "isms" by reasons of political and domestic influences, as well as probably through the influence of a stronger thinking mind than his own.

Akbar commenced his reign as a boy with Bairam Khan as his guardian; harem influences seconded by Akbar himself put an end to Bairam Khan's rule; then came a short period of harem rule; then Akbar himself became master, and for years had to fight against rebel Moghuls and Afghans, chiefly the former, who wished that the new kingdom of Delhi should be what the old kingdom was, a kingdom with only a nominal head and with a feudal system in full force; during the same time he had also one severe campaign against the Hindus, the campaign of Chitor. After these rebellions and this war was over, the boundaries of his kingdom gradually extended to the limits at which they stood, when he died; but the greater and more important feature of the second and longer half of his reign was the organising of the Delhi Padshahate into the form it eventually took, a form which has been the frame of Indian Administration to this day and which the British have taken with but a minimum of change from their predecessors, the Moghul governors, whom they found in possession when they conquered India.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Bairam Khan acted as Regent from 1556 to 1560 A.D. The chief wars in Hindustan which he waged during the minority of Akbar have already been described by me in accounting the events by which the various members of the Sur family were overthrown. He was a Persian and a Shiah. We find in him none of the open generosity which is so conspicuous a feature in the first three of the Moghul line. On the other hand he was possessed of a deep hatred towards Hindus and a sternness not to be distinguished from cruelty. By character he was eminently fitted to keep the Moghuls in hand, and so during the time that

he ruled, although a minority is generally noted by the number of rebellions during its duration, revolts were but few and when they arose originated mainly from personal fear of his revenge I have already related how he put Tardi Beg to death. He had also wished to slay Sheikh Abul Maali whom I have already named and who afterwards became a thorn in Akbar's side. As to this he was overridden by Akbar himself. His hand was everywhere felt, and as long as he held the reins of office so long men, even if they hated, feared him.

At the time of the death of Humayun, Mirza Sulaiman, a Tamurid, who was ruling in Badakshan as his vassal, on hearing of his overlord's death, marched and besieged Kabul, which had been left by Humayun in the care of Munim Khan. The siege, however, came to nothing, and Akbar's younger brother, Mirza Mohamed Hakim, who had been left in the charge of Munim Khan, was formally declared Viceroy. This position he held with hardly a break until his death nearly 30 years afterwards During this period he was one of the most troublesome of Akbar's Viceroys though he was ever forgiven, as sprung from a common father. Humayun's ladies who had also been left at Kabul, after his death, were removed to Hindustan. With them came both Akbar's mother and also Akbar's two foster-mothers; the latter were named Jiji Anagah and Mahum Anagah. Jiji Anagah's husband Shamsuddin will appear later on as a man of mark. These three ladies had great influence over the young ruler; the children of the foster-mothers were known as Kokahs, and we shall find them playing a conspicuous part in the history of the time.

Bairam Khan's official title was Khan-Khanan, the Khan of Khans. One of his chief favourites was the Sunni Mullah Pir Muhammad. According to Nizamuddin this man from small origins became Bairam Khan's general Manager; consequently all the business of the State passed through his hands Such a rise in position caused him to become so inflated with pride that he thought himself equal, if not superior, to his own benefactor. The story goes that Bairam Khan went once to call upon him,

taking him to be sick inasmuch as he had absented himself from his service. On arrival at Pir Muhammad's mansion, a slave of the latter told Bairam to wait until his arrival was announced to the Pir. This naturally enraged Bairam Khan; and though on appearing Pir Muhammad excused the slave on the ground that he did not know Bairam Khan, still all the same the Pir did not allow Bairam Khan's retinue to attend him within the house. The latter said nothing at the time, but shortly after sent Pir Muhammad Khan this message:* "Formerly, you were a poor student, and came to Kandahar in a needy, forlorn condition; but I perceived some signs of excellence in you, and remembered some old services. I therefore advanced you to the dignity of Khan and Sultan. But your nature is unable to bear this great advancement, and the bad points in your character get the mastery of you. I, therefore, think it advisable to deprive you for a time of Royal distinctions and dignity so that you may come to your proper sense. You must return your banner, kettle-drum, and all other marks of honour."

Shortly after the Pir was made a prisoner and forcibly sent on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had, however, got no further than Gujarat, than Bairam Khan fell from power and consequently instead of completing his pligrimage returned to Court. Various stories are told of Bairam Khan's irritability in his days of power. On one occasion two elephants were brought out to fight, while the army was in camp. The animals in their struggle approached near the tent of Bairam Khan where he wasl ying ill with boils; on this he suspected that the Royal servants had planned an insult to him. Accordingly he sent to enquire from the Emperor what fault had been imputed to him that he should be subjected to this mark of Royal displeasure. On another occasion a Royal elephant having maimed one of his own he had the driver of the former put to death. On a third occasion a *must* (mad) elephant belonging to the Emperor getting loose rushed into the Jumna and endangered his life. Akbar sent him the driver bound, and in spite of the fact that the driver had by his exertions in all probability

* Elliott, Vol V, p. 238.

saved Bairam's life, the latter put him to death. The end of all this was that Akbar, goaded doubtless by the members of his father's harem, got thoroughly tired of Bairam Khan and determined to take the rule into his own hands. Bairam's rule had indeed been successful. There was little or no internal trouble. Gwaliar had been retaken and on the Eastern side of the Ganges, Jaunpur, the capital of the old Eastern Kingdom, had again fallen into Moghul hands, but still in such matters as the change of rulers in the East the prosperity of kingdoms counts but little in comparison with the intrigues of women and princes. It has been suggested that if Bairam Khan had known what was coming he would have got rid of Akbar and put some other Taimurid on the throne, but it is also quite possible that his strong personal feeling towards Humayun would have prevented him following such a course. Anyhow Akbar did not give him a chance. On the pretence of hunting he left Agra and when half-way to Delhi, received, doubtless in pursuance of a pre-arranged plan, intimation to the effect that his mother who resided at Delhi was ill, and wished to see him. Consequently he proceeded to that place. When there, his foster-mothers as well as Shamshuddin pressed him to get rid of Bairam Khan. Probably but little pressure was necessary. Announcement was speedily made that Akbar had taken the affairs of the State into his own charge and that all orders in future should emanate from him. Bairam had long expressed, as Muhammedans very commonly do, without over much attention of carrying out the same, a desire to visit the holy places of Arabia. Consequently Akbar sent him this message:

"As I was fully assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of Government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should now make the pilgrimage to Mecca upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable jagir out of the parganas of Hindustan shall be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agents."

Bairam accepted his dismissal in good grace, and having left Agra proceeded West seemingly on his way to Mecca. From Nagor he returned his banner, kettledrums and other marks of honour to the Emperor. When proceeding further West he found that the Hindu Rajas barred his way. His old protegé and present enemy Pir Muhammad who had only reached Gujarat on his way to Mecca returned to Court, was given the title of Khan and sent to expedite Bairam's movements. The latter, probably justly, considered that this step indicated the determination of his enemies about the Court to absolutely ruin him Consequently he broke out into revolt and turning North marched into the Punjab. He was, however, unsuccessful and after some fighting was driven into the Lower Himalayas. A story is told by Nizamuddin which puts Bairam's character in a very favourable light.

*"A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hills, and surrounding the place put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultan Husain Jalair was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khan-Khanan, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed: 'This life of mine is not worth so much, that a man like this should be killed in my defence.'"

Bairam Khan now threw himself on the mercy of the Emperor. This was granted, and he was again permitted to go to Mecca. This time, however, he travelled with a very different following. He never got further than Gujarat, for when at Pattan, one of the chief towns of that State, he was stabbed by an Afghan whose father had either been killed in action with the Moghuls or had been put to death by Bairam's orders. Afghan vendettas rival those of Corsica With his death Akbar was freed from the apprehension that the elder soldiers of his father Humayun would rule in future in his name. Henceforth he became his own first minister, and though in the coming years rebellions were many and intrigues numerous, still Akbar was always the centre pivot around which the Moghul

* Elliott, Vol. V 267.

destinies hung. He and he only was the real ruler of the Delhi State.

Akbar was still in his teens when Bairam Khan fell from power. For the next three years the chief influence in the State was Mahum Anagah, one of his foster-mothers. Like harem influence in general, her influence was bad. Adham Khan, her son, was pushed by her into a place of power which he never should have held and the result was tragic. First of all he was sent with an army against Baz Bahadur Khan of Malwa, accompanied by Pir Muhammad, who held the position of second in command. This man is thus described by Abdul Kadir—better known as Budaoni, about whom I shall have plenty to say hereafter and who certainly had no objection to theologians, as cruel, insolent, severe. He remarks that as to him the old saying was verified that "He who seeks learning in scholastic theology is an infidel, and the doctors of scholastic theology are infidels to whatever sect they belong; we flee to God for a refuge from a knowledge which doth not profit, from a prayer that is not heard, from a heart that is not humble and a body that is not satisfied." Baz Bahadur was noted even amongst Oriental sensualists for his sensuality. Prime among his harem favourites was Rupmati—a Hindu woman. A short fight decided the struggle. Baz Bahadur fled to Gujarat. A number of his women were slain by their attendants to prevent their falling into Adham Khan's hands, but the larger part of his harem was captured. Rupmati to prevent herself from becoming the concubine to any fresh master, took poison after her capture. The conquerors practised the most horrible cruelties not only towards the soldiers of Baz Bahadur but to the people of Malwa generally. On the day of the battle, in the graphic words of Budaoni, the two captains remained on the spot, and had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river; and Pir Muhammad Khan, with a smile on his face, said in jest "what a plague of a strong neck this victim has, and what a power of blood has poured from it." He adds: "And as for God's creation (which is

only another term for mankind), with my own eye was it seen, that in his sight it was valued but as radishes, and cucumbers and leeks." When I, without any prejudice against either side, came to that army and saw the terror, like that of the judgment day, I said to my friend Mihr Ali Khan Beg Sildoz, "Though the rebels have met with their deserts yet it is not at all in accordance with the sacred law to kill and imprison their wives and children. Then he, on account of the pain offered to his religious feelings and conscience, spoke to Pir Muhammad Khan to the same effect. He replied "In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them." And further on we read: "And the Sayyids and Sheikhs of that place came out to meet him with their Korans in their hands, but Pir Muhammad Khan put them all to death, and burnt them."

Shortly after when Pir Muhammad was in sole command, Baz Bahadur returned from Gujarat and attacked him. Retreating to Mandu, he was drowned in the Nerbudda, and so, as the historian says, went by water to fire. The sighs of the orphans and weak and captives, we are told, were his ruin. Oriental history is full to overflowing with conquerors of the sort, and if the sighs of those whom they had bereaved and robbed, were their ruin, few would have a long career. In the West, too, some of our best known historical characters would have had but short shift in such cases. Few of the smaller Indian tyrants however have a worse record than this Pir Muhammad.

To return to Adham Khan, this young man full of presumption on account of his being the son of Mahum Anagah, only forwarded to Akbar a small part of the booty taken by him in his successful expedition. This booty largely consisted in women, the special perquisite of an Eastern Monarch. Akbar on this account as wel as on account of the various stories that were afloat as to Adham Khan's behaviour in Malwa determined to march and meet him. His mother Mahum Anagah sent him word of Akbar's intention, but nevertheless he was taken unawares with the whole of the booty in his camp. Though justly incensed Akbar pardoned him, he handing over the spoils to the Emperor. On the

latter's returning towards Delhi, Adham Khan managed to abduct from the harem two beautiful girls—part of the Malwa spoils. Akbar learnt of this, had them pursued and brought back. They were confided to Mahum Anagah's care, and she to prevent Akbar from learning the truth from their lips, had them put to death. Murders in Indian harems were common enough, but few stand out as so heartless as this. Neither man nor woman in these days had amongst the grandees of Hindustan the slightest respect for human life. Adham Khan was again pardoned by the Emperor; but his end was near. The man whom he specially hated and dreaded was Shamsuddin, the husband of Akbar's second foster-mother. Breaking into the Imperial audience chamber at Agra at the head of a band of associates, Adham Khan stabbed Shamsuddin in the breast. The wounded man tried to flee, but was cut down. Seated along with Shamsuddin were Munim Khan, Shitabuddin and others. These did nothing to protect the wounded man and indeed were suspected of having incited Adham Khan to the crime. What followed is thus told by Budaoni "Then with his sword in his hand he (Adham Khan) swaggered in, and took his stand at the door of the Royal inner apartments." Then the Emperor also seized a sword, and coming out, asked him, "Why did you commit such an act?" He answered, "A disloyal fellow has met with his deserts." Then they bound him hand and foot, and cast him down from the top of the terrace of the palace, and since he still breathed the Emperor commanded them to throw him down a second time. According to other accounts Adham Khan besought pardon, but Akbar struck him with his fist such a blow that he fell senseless; after this he was thrown over the battlements. His mother only survived her son forty days. They both lie buried under an enormous dome which bears the name of Adham Khan's tomb, some miles out of Delhi close to the Kuth Monument. Of the many heroes of Akbar's age but few have left monuments behind them. This worthless fellow has perhaps the noblest monument of them all.

CHAPTER XX.

After the death of Mahum Anagah Akbar stood forth as Emperor himself. Hereafter he may have many Ministers; he himself is always master. In the next few years the guiding principles of his long reign seem to have been worked out in his mind. Most striking to a Western is the fact that they seem to have sprung so quick into full life. Every thing in the East ripens fast; minds as well as plants. Before he is five and twenty Akbar shows his intention not to be a Muhammedan overlord, but the Ruler and Master of both Muhammedan and Hindu alike. No longer, as under former rulers and under none more than Bairam Khan, are the Hindus a despised section of the community left to go their own way, save when money is wanted from them. Now at last they are brought within the scope of the Imperial policy. Such principles could not come into practice without much discontent on the part of the Muhammedan community particularly on the part of the foreign Moghuls; and hence we shall find rebellions repeatedly through the reign, sometimes indeed the rebellion of near relations, who have personal motives of ambition for their action, but oftener of leaders of the Moghul aristocracy who desired to bring back a feudal system, in which the part of the hewers of wood and drawers of water was to be taken by the Hindus and the higher grades of the feudal body by Muhammedans.

CHAPTER XXI.

The murder of Shamshuddin and the slaying of his murderer by Akbar seemed likely to cause the greatest commotion. Munim Khan and other grandees conscious of the guilt of having instigated Adham Khan fled. The Atkah Khail (the clan of the foster-brothers) as Shamsuddin's relations were called, fearing a revolution, flew to arms. But here Akbar's good sense stood him in good part. The deed had been done and his policy was to cover the past with oblivion. Munim Khan and others were

pardoned; the former returned after some interval to Court where he is to be found again as one of the most sagacious of Akbar's Counsellors. The Atkah Khail's arms were diverted from attacking Adham Khan's fellow conspirators by being sent into the country of the Gakkars. This tribe of robbers whom I have already mentioned had preferred a doubtful allegiance to Akbar, but objected to his granting a chief of theirs Kamal Khan whom Selim Khan had once tried to blow up in Gwaliar Fort by gunpowder and who afterwards had been granted a Jagir in Hindustan, a half share of the rule of their land. Adham Khan, who was the actual chief at the time, took up arms. Fighting, in which the Atkah Khail took a prominent part, followed, but the Gakkars were no match for the Imperial troops. Kamal Khan became sole ruler; Adham Khan was made his prisoner and remained so until his death.

CHAPTER XXII.

Twice in this part of the reign was his life threatened. A Taimurid Mirza Sharafuddin had found favour in the Imperial Court through Mahum Anagah. Owing to some imaginary grievances he fled from there, leaving behind a slave whom he commissioned to murder Akbar. An attempt was accordingly made by him on Akbar's life. As the latter was passing through a bazaar the slave shot at him with an arrow from the roof of the college of Mahum Anagah. The Emperor was struck, but the injury was slight. Soon after Akbar was very nearly slain by one of the house slaves of Khwajah Muazzam. This man was his maternal uncle. His wife who came from the Harem of Humayun was constantly maltreated by him and when Akbar paid him a visit in order to compose differences between husband and wife, the Khwajah in a fit of passion stabbed the woman mortally and flung the bloody knife into the courtyard amongst the Royal retinue. Akbar enraged, attempted to enter the house and would have been, had it not been for the bystanders who interfered, cut down on his entry by the Khwajah's slaves

The punishment was immediate. At Akbar's order the Khwajah was well thrashed and thrown into the river Jumna, bound hand and foot. It is said that although he was submerged several times, he would not drown, and that whenever he rose to the surface he abused the Emperor. In any case he was sent a prisoner to Gwaliar where he died insane.

I have already spoken of Mirza Sharafuddin. Numerous Taimurids came in the train of Humayun and Akbar to India. Each of these men considered himself equal in every respect to the reigning Emperor and consequently throughout a great part of the reign of Akbar we have them incessantly rebelling. Their ordinary appellation in Indian History is the Mirzas. The first of these rebels was Sharafuddin He allied himself to Abul Maali. They tried to raise the Punjab where, in spite of a success obtained by treachery, they failed to hold their own. Abul Maali escaped to Kabul. Sharafuddin himself went South where he joined himself thereafter to other of the Mirzas. When Abul Maali reached Kabul he found Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother, the nominal ruler there, but his mother, Mah Begum, the real ruler. Akbar's nominee, Ghani Khan, had been turned by this lady out of Kabul; to replace him Munim Khan was sent with an army. This nobleman trusted much to the fact that he had formerly been Viceregent at Kabul; consequently he did not take with him a sufficient force. His trust proved to be based on no solid ground, and he was forced to return. Abul Maali, who had helped the Begum to dispose of all rivals to her rule of Kabul, had married her daughter; he then turning against her stabbed her with his own hand. His own ruin did not tarry long. Mirza Sulaiman, ruler of Badakshan, whose wife Khurrum Begum was one of the most masterful characters of the age, marched from his mountains nominally to free Mirza Muhammad Hakim from Abul Maali's yoke, really to bring the young Mirza under his own control. Abul Maali met him in battle, but his troops deserted him and he himself had to flee. On being taken prisoner he was handed over to the young Mirza who had him strangled A.D. 1563 Mirza Sulaiman did not retain Kabul long. Muhammad Hakim

escaped from his control and, coming as far as Peshawar, begged for Akbar's assistance; this was promptly given. Jelalabad was stormed by the Imperial army, and Mirza Sulaiman without any further struggle fled to Badakshan. A nobleman whose real name was Muhammad Kuli and titular name Khan Kalan (the great Khan) was left as the young Mirza's guardian, but the latter chafed under his yoke and shortly after the Khan Kalan returned to India. These events took place in A.D. 1563-1564.

CHAPTER XIII.

The rebellions I have mentioned occurred in the West and were more or less caused by members of the Royal family. The next took place in the East and originated in members of the Moghul aristocracy who objected to the centralised Government which Akbar seemed determined to institute. The leaders of this rebellion considered themselves every bit as good as Akbar himself. Their desire was to establish the old state of things whereby the ruler at Delhi's real power extended but little way from Head-Quarters and where every local chief was practically an absolute ruler within his own Jagir or Sarkar.

The head and brain of these rebellious feudatories was an Uzbeg Ali Kuli Khan, commonly known by his title Khan Zaman. He had been a chief officer of Humayun in his Afghan campaigns and to him chiefly was ascribed the victory at Panipat. In the time of Bairam's regency he had caused troubles in Court by a scandalous love affair and had incurred the enmity of the all-powerful Pir Muhammad. Originally holding the Jagir of Sambhal (Rohilkund) he was transferred from there by this man's influence and entrusted with the charge of a campaign against the ever-rebellious Afghans of Jaunpur and Behar. This he successfully carried through, and until his death his was the real power in these provinces. United with him in the revolt were his brother Bahadur, his cousin Sikander and his uncle Ibrahim. It is said that the reason why they rebelled was the treatment Akbar meted out to Abdullah, an Uzbeg General,

and a relation of theirs in Malwa. The latter refused or neglected to send to Akbar spoil taken by him; thereupon the Emperor marched against him, drove him into Gujarat, and by threatening Chenghiz Khan, the then King of that country, had him driven out from there. Coming to Behar he stirred up a revolt. But without his coming, it would have had to come. A centralised rule as Akbar desired, and a feudal aristocracy such as that of which Khan Zaman was the representative could not co-exist. European history is full of similar instances. The actual uprising arose this way. Akbar sent his Mir Munshi (Chief Secretary) to bring Sikander to Court. The latter who was at Ajodhiya took the Mir Munshi first to his uncle Ibrahim and then to Khan Zaman at Jaunpur. There it was resolved to hold the Minister as a hostage and to openly revolt. To quell this, Munim Khan was sent, Akbar following and joining him. When the Royal troops reached Lucknow, Sikander fled. Nor was any stand made at Jaunpur. Through the intercession of Munim Khan, the rebels prayed for submission. Khan Zaman's mother and Ibrahim personally visited the Royal camp and besought pardon. To Munim Khan, who reminded Akbar of Khan Zaman's services in the past, the latter is reported to have said: "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain faithful." Left in possession of their old Jagirs, they soon justified Akbar's forebodings by again breaking into revolt. To this they were encouraged by a victorious fight that Bahadur, Khan Zaman's brother, had with the Royal Generals near Allahabad Bahadur was the most discontented of the family. On suggesting an accommodation with Muiz-Ul-Mulk, the Royal General, the latter refused to come to any settlement. The sword, he said, must be the arbitrator. Budaoni tells us Muiz-Ul-Mulk was all fire and flame and Raja Todar Mul poured on oil and naphtha. We shall meet this Raja, the greatest of all Akbar's ministers, again. His first essay at fighting was not successful. The Royal troops were badly beaten. Into the details of the rebellion or rather rebellions—for there were more than one, their course being reconciliation, pardon and then a

fresh outburst—I need not enter. The rebels were aided by the fact that for a considerable time Akbar's attention was turned towards Kabul. They read the Khutbah in Mirza Muhammad Hakim's name, though they had as little intention of obeying him as of obeying Akbar. One curious story deserves telling. Asaf Khan, one of the Royal Generals, fell under Akbar's suspicion and fled to his brother, Vazir Khan, one of the rebels with Khan Zaman. He soon repented his choice. His subsequent adventures are thus told by Nizam Uddin.

*"Khan Zaman sent Asaf Khan along with Bahadur Khan to seize upon some territories which were in the hands of the Afghans; but he kept Vazir Khan near himself, and appointed men to watch him. Vazir Khan sent a person to Asaf Khan to say—'I intend to fly from this place at such and such a time; do you also in some way or other get away from Bahadur Khan.' Asaf Khan accordingly, leaving all his baggage and property behind, went off in the night, and took the road to Karra-Manikpur. In the course of the night he travelled thirty kos, but Bahadur Shah pursued him, and overtook him between Jaunpur and Manikpur. A fight ensued, in which Asaf Khan was defeated and taken prisoner. Bahadur Khan threw him into a *howda* on an elephant and went on his way, when Vazir Khan, who had got away from Khan Zaman, came up. Bahadur Khan, feeling that he was unable to cope with Vazir Khan, gave orders for putting Asaf Khan to death at once in the *howda*. Sword-cuts were aimed at Asaf Khan, three of his fingers were cut off, and he received a wound also in the nose; but Vazir Khan fought his way through, and rescued his brother. The two brothers then went to Karra, and Bahadur Khan returned without accomplishing his object. Vazir Khan proceeded to Court, and, through the intervention of Muzaffar Khan, he was admitted to an audience, and received pardon for his own and his brother's offences, while His Majesty was near Lahore, engaged in the pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and in hunting. A *farman* of favour and conciliation was sent to Asaf Khan."

* Elliott, Vol. V, pp. 309-10.

The whole time taken up by these revolts was over two years from early in A.D. 1565 to A.D. 1567. In June of the latter year the end came; Akbar in that month met the rebels in battle near the Ferry at Manikpur not far from Allahabad. Bahadur was wounded, taken prisoner and brought before Akbar, who ordered him to be kept safely by his Amirs. These, without waiting for further orders, put him to death. Khan Zaman being wounded was trampled under foot by an elephant. A soldier passing by struck off his head and brought it to Akbar. We are told that it was recognised by the teeth on the right side being black. A eunuch, once in Khan Zaman's service, stated that he always chewed betel-nut with these teeth and that consequently he could be identified by their being black. I am afraid this was but a poor test. Anyhow he never appeared again. Akbar had both Bahadur's and Khan Zaman's heads stuffed and sent to Agra. Sikander escaped and was not followed. A number of prisoners were trodden to death under elephants at Jaunpur. On the whole the revolt was put down without an excess of cruelty; compared to the bloody way risings in Europe at the time, take the Peasant's war for instance, were dealt with, Akbar's panegyrists may well praise his clemency. Never again did Akbar have to meet such a dangerous opposition from his own Moghuls. Subsequent revolts were both less obstinate and in later years the material forces which he had to meet them were much greater.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Whether Akbar had previously to the outbreak of these revolts worked out the general principles on which his rule should rest, is a matter of inference. At any rate before they were put down he seems to have firmly grasped the general rules, by which in future life he was guided. He was not to be the first of the Moghuls but the King of Hindustan. His Hindu subjects were far greater in number than his Muhammedan. Besides the Hindus in his own territories there existed the races

of Rajputana, then as ever in Muhammedan times more or less free, possessing some of the highest qualities of chevaliers and warriors. And it was not so much through the Hindus in general as through the Rajputs in particular, that he determined to be master in Hindustan of Moslem and Hindu alike. To the Rajput Prince, who threw in his fortunes with his, he offered everything the Empire could give, wealth, power, commands. The essence of such a union was through marriage. A Hindu by the laws of his religion cannot marry save a Hindu of his own caste. A Muhammedan is not bound by any such restriction. But even he cannot according to the law marry an idolatress. To avoid this there is generally a nominal conversion of the bride. But Akbar does not seem to have had resort to any such artifice. Afterwards we shall learn how he arrogated to himself pontifical powers as regards religion. At present it is sufficient to say that he married Hindu wife after Hindu wife. These marriages were the real foundation of all Akbar's policy. By them he pledged himself to tolerance, for he needed tolerance from his co-religionists, to relying on Rajput support against orthodox Islam and to the maintenance of the dignity of Rajput princes. But some of these latter were as conservative and unbending as any of the Ulema in Akbar's Court. For them, there was nothing to expect from Akbar but incessant war. Soon after that Khan Zaman was trodden under foot by an elephant,—we shall read of a storm and sack of Chitor as bloody and terrible as that by Baz Bahadur of Gujarat in the early days of Humayun's reign.

CHAPTER XXV.

Behari Mul, the Kuchwaha of Amber near which stands modern Jaipur, was the first Rajput Prince to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar. His daughter was the first Rajput of Royal birth to enter as a wife into a Moghul Emperor's Harem. He had been a friend of Humayun's before the latter's flight to Persia, and after the battle of Paniput was invited to the Royal

Court. While there Akbar, then a boy under the tutelage of Bairam Khan, had the unpleasant experience of being run away with by a wild elephant, but to his surprise Behari Mul's Rajput attendants were the only people about who did not give way to the infuriated beast. In 1561 A.D. Akbar went in pilgrimage to the tomb of the famous Chisti Saint at Ajmere. Negotiations were entered into between him and Behari Mul's family which ended in the latter visiting the Royal Court at Sunkanir and in his giving his daughter in marriage to the Emperor. Akbar's successor Jehangir was the offspring of this union.

The Amber family were but minor rulers in Rajasthan. The foremost Rajput family was that of the Sesodias of Chitor. Its boast was that it had ever kept the flag flying, that it had never yielded to Moslem, though its country had again and again been overrun and its capital, once in the early part of the fourteenth century and once by Baz Bahadur, been taken by storm. Break them the Muhammedans might, bend them they could not. Their country, largely hilly, for the Aravali hills were a part of their domain, afforded peculiar facilities for a guerilla war. Army after army might march through and plunder their country; with their withdrawal the Rajput came out of his hiding places and again took possession of the soil. The Chief of the Sesodias at the time was Rana Udai Sing, and he was alas a coward. Tod moralises on the comparison between his character and Akbar's. But no hero, even of the stature of Leonidas, could have saved the Sesodia capital. Excuses for the invasion were easily found—are indeed always easily found by a big state envying a smaller one.

It was suggested that the Chitor rulers had aided with some of Akbar's fugitive subjects. Anyhow Akbar with a large force marched to Chitor and laid formal siege to the place. Rajput annals tell of a prior siege by Akbar which was unsuccessful, but of this the Muhammedan historians record nothing. Scarcely had Akbar commenced the siege than Rana Udai Sing, the opprobrium of the Sesodia race, quitted the town. Behind him however, he left many a gallant Rajput determined to live and

die for beloved Chitor. We have the story of the siege told us by Muhammedan historians and Rajput annalists, naturally from very different points of view, the one telling us the story from without and the other from within. Chitor itself is a fortress capable of a stout defence. A lonely height it stands out away from the other hills around, with a base circumference of eight miles and an elevation of some 500 feet, the fort itself standing on the crest, like an eagle's eyrie. Like most of such fortresses it has its drawbacks. On the Southern side the rock is so narrow as to be embraced by an immense half moon commanding the hill, called Chitoree not more than 150 yards distant from the main fort. This, when once captured, affords a favourable starting point for a final assault.

At the beginning of the cold weather A.D. 1567, the Moghuls began the siege ; its first day was one of lightning and thunder, of storm and rain ; it seemed as if the old elemental gods of Rajputana had come to battle on behalf of their worshippers against the new and more powerful god of the Moslems. Rajput chief after Rajput chief died in the defence. Like to the Highland champions of the Clan Kay on the fatal day in the North Inch ; one dying, another took his place, the cry being ever one more for Hector ; but the Hector of Chitor like the Hector of the Clan Kay being a dastard had escaped from the fatal fray. We are told in particular of one Rajput champion Patta of Kailwa. *" He was only sixteen : his father had fallen in the last shock, and his mother had survived but to rear him the sole heir of their house. Like the Spartan mother of old, she commanded him to put on the saffron robe and to die for Chitor : but surpassing the Grecian dame, she illustrated her precept by example ; and lest any soft compunctious visitings, for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa, she armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Chitor saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother."

On the one side the most desperate courage, on the other side cool calculating generalship. The siege was conducted by the

* Tod, Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 275.

Moghuls by regular approaches, constructions of mounds called Sabats were thrown up and mines dug in the most improved fashion then known. In this way little by little the Moghuls pushed to the foot of the walls. When the first mine exploded, one of the bastions of Chitor was blown into the air and a breach effected, but the storming party rushing in, a second mine exploding blew up Moghuls and Rajputs alike. Large numbers on both sides perished. New mines and Sabats were constructed. The Muhammedan historian tells us how on the last night of the siege the Emperor, who was seated in a gallery which had been erected for him, fired with his own hand at Jaimul, chief of the Rajputs, and shot him dead; shortly after the storm began. Nizamuddin tells us that on the death of Jaimul, the Rajputs were dispirited and so killed their wives and children according to the Jauhar right and then proceeded to meet their foe. He adds—*"All that night the fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8,000 Rajputs who were in the place received the reward of their deeds." Much to be preferred is the complexion put on the dreadful story by Rajput authorities. They on their side relate how the 8,000 Rajputs ate the last betel-nut together and put on their saffron robes, indicative of their intention to die for their country and their gods, how after the Jauhar was completed, the gates were thrown open, the Rajput warriors rushed forth and few survived "to stain the yellow mantle" in inglorious surrender. Three thousand inhabitants of Chitor became victims to Akbar's thirst for conquest. The victory was complete; the temples and the palaces were thrown down and the place was left a desert. We are told later on, probably when Akbar knew more thoroughly the Rajput, that he erected gigantic statues of Jaimul and Patta, two of the chief defendants of Chitor at the most conspicuous entry to his palace at

* Elliott, Vol. V, 328.

Delhi. But though Chitor was taken, the Sesodias were not subdued, and throughout the reign they carried on a desultory warfare without, however, much result. Again in later reigns they will come to the front.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Though I am now proceeding out of chronological order, I might mention here the only remaining important contest that Akbar's troops had with Hindus during the rest of his reign. Before doing so, I should mention, however, a fight at Thanesar between the Hindu sects in which the Emperor took the part of a pleased spectator. I quote from Nizamuddin—"When the Emperor arrived at Thanesar, there was an assemblage of Jogis and Sannyasis on the banks of a lake called Kurhet. This is a sacred place of the Brahmans, and on occasion of eclipses, the people of Hindustan flock thither from all parts to bathe. There was a great assemblage there on this occasion, and the people were bestowing their gifts of gold and silver, and jewels and stuffs, upon the Brahmans. Many of them threw themselves into the water and the Jogis and Sannyasis were gathering a rich harvest from their charity. In consequence of a feud which existed between the sects, they came to the Emperor seeking permission to settle it by fighting. Sannyasis were between two and three hundred in number, and the Jogis, who wear only rags, were over 500. When the adversaries stood ready to begin the fray, by the Emperor's order, some soldiers smeared their persons with ashes, and went to support the Sannyasis, who were the weaker party. A fierce fight ensued and many were killed. The Emperor greatly enjoyed the sight. At length the Jogis were defeated, and the Sannyasis were the victors."

On other occasions we find Hindu fanatics devoting themselves to death and rushing on the Royal troops. Akbar had also shortly after the taking of Chitor to besiege both Rantanbhor and Kalinjar, two of the strongest fortresses in Rajputana

and famed in times past for their stout defence against the Muhammedans. In each case the fortresses, Rantanbhor in the year 1569 A.D., and Kalinjar in 1570 A.D., surrendered shortly after they had been invested. His troops also in 1573 A.D. besieged Nagarkot, which was held by a Hindu Princelet in the Lower Himalayas. Fighting there seems to have been at this place and of a most desperate nature. Nizamuddin describes most graphically the difficulties of the expedition. He tells us how the army had to go through a thickly wooded country which was difficult even for an ant or a snake to creep. When Nagarkot was reached, an outlying fortress had to be stormed in which were a party of the Rajputs who fought until the last man. He tells us that a number of cows had taken refuge in the temple and that the savage Turks, so he calls Akbar's troops, slew these cows all one by one. They then all took off their boots and filled them with blood, and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple.

The siege of Nagarkot was carried on by regular circumvallation. Nizamuddin tells us how a ball fired from a cannon killed nearly 80 people. The place, however, was not to be taken. I turn to Nizamuddin for the rest of the story. *"The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace, so Husain Kuli Khan felt constrained to accede. The infidels undertook to pay a large tribute; five mans of gold, Akbarshahi weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Raja Jai Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Hafiz Muhammad Bakar read the Khutbah in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle of Shawal, 980. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor, gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the Khutbah read, and the coins stamped with the Emperor's name. Husain Kuli Khan (the Commander of the Royal troops) marched away."

The only severe campaign after this against a Hindu chief was in A.D. 1577 against Rana Kika. It was conducted on the

* Elliott, Vol. V, p. 358.

Imperial side by Man Sing, son of Bhagwan Das, and grandson of Behari Mul of Amber. Man Sing by this date had become one of Akbar's greatest Generals. The campaign was in Western Rajputana, and we are fortunate in having an account given us of it by Budaoni one of the most remarkable characters in Akbar's Court. This man whom I shall describe afterwards was a Muhammedan of the most orthodox type, hating Shiahs and Hindus alike, whose personal needs alone caused him to hang on to Akbar's Court, where he ever saw what displeased his orthodox eye. His work to which I shall make frequent reference, when I come to Akbar's religious innovations, is marked on the one hand by extreme acrimoniousness against Akbar's ministers and the Court proceedings, and on the other hand at times by oriental obsequiousness in its most extreme form. Budaoni took part in this expedition. He was at the time a Court preacher. but as he tells us that the ardour of fighting against the infidels was kindled in his breast, and so he obtained leave with some difficulty to join in the expedition. A decisive battle was fought at Kokandah ; Budaoni tells us how he enquired from one of the Muhammedan Commanders, how the Royal troops could distinguish friendly and hostile Rajputs to which with Muhammedan arrogance, the latter replied : "On whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam." The battle resulted in a victory to Man Sing to whose courage Budaoni does full credit. The latter was sent to report the victory to Court. He tells the story of his journey in a fashion which enables us to understand something about the conditions of travelling in those days. This is what he says : *" Thence by way of Bakhor and Mandalgara, I arrived at Amber, the home of Man Sing. Wherever we passed the circumstances of the battle were published, but the people would not credit our statements. By chance it happened, that at five koses from Amber, the elephant sank into a morass, and the more it went forward, the deeper it sank in the clay. And since this was my first service of such a nature, I was in a terrible fix. At last the country people of the

* Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 242.

neighbourhood came up, and said, 'Last year at this very spot a Royal elephant became logged. Let them pour a quantity of water on the clay and mud, and then the Royal elephant will come out easily enough.' Accordingly the water-carriers did so, and poured a quantity of water on, and the elephant became gradually extricated from the quagmire, and got to Amber; and the exultation of those people reached the very heavens." The elephant, I may mention, which he carried away was one of special value which Man Sing had been ordered particularly to capture. When Budaoni got to Court he had an interview with the Emperor which he describes thus: *"And during the first days of the month Rabi'ul-awwal, by the intervention of Raja Bhagwan Das, father of Raja Man Sing, I prostrated myself in the Audience-chamber at Fathepur, and delivered the despatches of the Amirs, together with the elephant. The Emperor asked: 'What is its name?' I replied, 'Ram-prasad.' His Majesty replied 'Since all this (success) has been brought about through the Pir, its name henceforth shall be Pir-prasad.' Next His Majesty said: 'They have written ever so many praises of you, tell me truly, in what army have you served, and what exploits have you performed?' I replied: 'In the presence of the Emperor, your Majesty's humble servant speaks even the truth, with a hundred fears and tremblings, how can he speak that which is not truth.' And then I related to him succinctly what had happened. Again he asked: 'Were you unarmed or armed?' I said: 'I had armour both for man and horse.' 'Where did you get it from?' he said. I replied: 'From Sayyid Abdullah Khan.' The Emperor was exceedingly pleased, and putting forth his hand to a heap of Ashrafis (which in those days, just like a heap in a treasury, used always to be laid before him) presented me with a sum of ninety-six Ashrafis, and said: 'Have you seen Sheikh Abdul Nabi (since your return)?' I answered: 'From the dust of the road I came to the Court, how could I have seen him?' Then the Emperor gave me a pair of splendid Nakhudi shawls (and said): 'Take these and go and see the Sheikh, and

* Budaoni, Vol. II, pp. 243-44.

say to him for us: 'They are from our own private treasury, and we had them made on purpose for you, do you wear them.' I took them, and carried the message to the Sheikh, who was very much pleased. Then he asked: 'At the moment of taking leave of you.' I said: 'At the moment of joining battle remember to pray for me?' I replied: I then recited the prayer 'O God! pardon believers, male and female, and keep those who keep the Religion of Muhammad, and abandon those who abandon the Religion of Muhammad (on him be blessing and peace).' He said: 'That was sufficient, praise belongs to God!'"

Man Sing got into trouble about the campaign inasmuch as Akbar was led to believe that he did not do his work thoroughly. Backbiters at the Court suggested that he had purposely spared the lands of the Rana and had not wasted them as, according to the invariable rule in Rajput campaigns, the Imperial army ought to have done. He did not, however, long remain in disgrace, and soon came into higher favour than ever. After this we hear nothing of Rajput wars, at least of wars of any importance during the rest of the reign.

CHAPTER XXVII.

My story takes me again to Kabul. After Abul Maali's death Mirza Muhammad Hakim became the Viceroy of Kabul being under the tutelage of a nobleman from Akbar's Court. The guardian and ward did not get on well together and so, as I have already told, the latter returned to India. This was Mirza Sulaiman's opportunity. Pressed by his wife Khurrum Begum he again marched from Badakshan and invested Kabul. Failing to seize it by force his wife tried treachery. Sending presents to Mirza Muhammad Hakim to show her great affection for him she suggested that as she had no son of her own she looked upon him as her son. By these means she managed to arrange a meeting with him at a garden about 20 miles from Kabul, where her husband had laid an ambuscade. Mirza Hakim, who was not at Kabul itself which he had left in charge of one of his Lieutenants, proceeded

towards the place of interview, but learning on the way that treachery was intended, fled towards India. When he reached the Indus, Khush Khabr Khan met him with a letter and large presents from Akbar; badly advised, however, the Mirza broke into rebellion against his elder brother and marched against Lahore. This act aroused Akbar to immediate action, and so with a large army he at once started from Agra to that place. Before he had reached Delhi the Mirza fled; probably the news that Mirza Sulaiman had abandoned the siege of Kabul was a partial inducement so to do. Akbar all the same marched to Lahore where the people rejoiced at his arrival. It was while he was here that the second of the Mirza rebellions started. I have already said that these Mirzas were the descendants of Taimur and had accompanied Humayan in his reconquest of Hindustan. Though well treated at the Imperial Court, they seem to have considered that they never were rewarded sufficiently. The names of the rebel Mirzas on this occasion were Ibrahim Hussain, Mirza Mohamed Hussain, Mirza Ulugh Beg and Shah Mirza, the former two being nephews of the two latter. They held at the time of their revolt Jagirs in the Sarkar (Province) of Sambhal, known as modern Rohilkund. They were soon driven from there and fled to Gujarat which country, by reason of its position and geographic character, seems ever to have been a favourite resort of rebels from the Delhi throne. Mirza Muhammad Hakim's invasion of India and the revolt of the Mirzas took place in the year A.D. 1566 and therefore chronologically were prior to the fighting at Chitor. This revolt was the first of a series of transactions which never ended until 20 years or more later by which time Akbar had thoroughly conquered Gujarat.

To digress for a moment, I should here mention that about this time Akbar had three male children born to him, all at Fathepur, now known as Fatehpur-Sikri, the eldest in A.D. 1569, the youngest in A.D. 1572. His spiritual guide at the time was one Sheik Salim Chisti, a resident of that place, and it was in his house that the three were born. The eldest Salim, afterwards known as Jehangir who succeeded him, was born of a Hindu

mother the daughter of Behari Mul. The other two sons were Murad and Danyal. When they grew up, they gave themselves over totally to debauchery and died before their father.

To return to the Mirzas, when they fled from Rohilkund to Malwa they were chased from the latter place by the royal forces and so they went to Gujarat where Chenghiz Khan had made himself ruler. There they first seized the fort of Surat and then Broach. The distracted state of this country together with the fact that the Mirzas and other rebels found in it their most convenient refuge, caused Akbar to turn his thoughts seriously towards its conquest. He found it easy enough to overrun but very difficult to keep.

In 1572 A. D. he himself marched at the head of his troops and entered Ahmedabad, the capital, without any serious opposition. The nominal King of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah, was found hidden in a corn field, the royal umbrella and canopy being picked up near a hedge where they had been abandoned. He was sent by Akbar as a State guest to Delhi. A disturbance caused by some of the hangers-on of the royal army, which resulted in the looting of some of the camps of the Gujarat chiefs, roused the Emperor to furious anger. The stolen property was restored and the offenders were trampled to death by elephants.

In the month of December 1572 Akbar for the first time saw the sea at Cambay ; an event which we may compare to the first sight of Canopus by Baber. His army was ordered from there to proceed to Surat, but when Akbar along with it was at Broach, he heard that Ibrahim Mirza who had shortly before left that place, was raising disturbances in his immediate rear. Akbar himself with a small force said to have been not much more than a hundred in number pursued Ibrahim at great speed and found him posted on the banks of the river Sarnal. Amongst Akbar's hundred, however, were the best warriors of his Empire. To them Ibrahim opposed 2,000 troopers, so we are told. In a thick jungle close to Sarnal the two parties dashed together, and a hand-to-hand *mêlée* ensued. Bhoput Sing, son of Behari Mul, who distinguished himself amongst the foremost,

fell early in the day, but out of the hundred we read of the death of no other cavalier of distinction. All vied with each other in feats of arms. At the very crisis of the fight, Akbar and Bhagwan Das charged the foe at full tilt, and their charge, so we are told, decided the day. Allowing for oriental flattery there is no doubt that the day was a glorious day for Akbar and for his Rajput brothers in arms. After a siege of one month and seventeen days, Surat surrendered in 1573. It was during this siege that Akbar is said to have first made acquaintance with the Portuguese. A story told about Akbar during this time does him but little credit. If true, it shows how the Rajput leaven was already working within him. Somebody in his presence praising the Rajputs' fearlessness of death and stating that amongst one of the Rajput clans, there was an exercise in which two men stood on one side with naked spikes and two others would rush on the same until the point came out from their backs. Akbar declared that he would do the same and thrust the handle of his sword in the wall for this purpose. Man Sing thrust the weapon aside, but before this was done Akbar was slightly cut; enraged with the latter he knocked him down and only the onstanders prevented further mischief.

Ibrahim, after his defeat at Sarnal, met the other Mirzas and quarrelled with them seemingly because they reproached him on his failure. He consequently separated from them and fled north. First of all he struck towards his old Jagir in Rohilkund. The story of his pursuit from there to the Punjab by Hasan Khan Takriah as told by Budaoni is most exciting. Hasan Khan was commonly considered mad; he had been a long time engaged in petty fights with rebel Afghans and with the Hindus of the Lower Himalaya Ranges in the country known as Kumaon. When he heard that Ibrahim Mirza had got to Sambhal he proceeded to attack him there. In this, according to Budaoni, he was not much helped by other royal Amirs; in one of the fights he was badly wounded but still persevered in commanding his troops from a litter. The capital of Sambhal

Bans Bareli, was for a time besieged by the Mirza. The royal Amirs were struck with fear and owed their safety to Hasan Khan's arrival. Budaoni tells us when the latter got there he addressed these cowardly Amirs as follows: *"Good God! the Mirza came to this neighbourhood with a small party of horse, while you with an army twice or four times as large as his were at the fortress of Sambhal; and you twenty or thirty Amirs, all old soldiers too, with a large force are so dismayed that you would shut yourselves up in the fortress of *Ahar*, which is a regular rat-hole. This will give occasion to the Mirza to become bold and to ravage the Imperial territories. Now there are two courses open to us, one of which we must follow. Either you must cross the Ganges, and under cover of that old fortress must intercept the Mirza, and prevent his getting over the Ganges. I will follow up in his rear, and we shall see what will happen. Or I will hasten and cross the Ganges and head the Mirza, while you pursue him. This is our duty as loyal subjects."

He did not, however, get these Amirs to act and with many curses at their cowardice he set off in pursuit of the Mirza himself. First of all he drove him across the Ganges and then in a long stern chase from Sirhind to Lahore. On hearing that Husain Kuli Khan, who had just returned from the siege of Nagarkot, was also on the track of the Mirza; he sent this message to him: †"Since you have come by forced marches from Nagarkot, and your army has been subjected to great exertion in the mountain district, and is not in proper condition, this victory is enough for you, now let other friends have a turn."

Husain Kuli Khan replied that he would wait, but all the same he proceeded at once to attack and attacking the Mirza's army unawares, defeated him near Tulambah about 80 miles from Mooltan. Hasan Khan coming up afterwards pressed Husain Kuli Khan to pursue, but the latter made excuses. Hasan Khan was not to be stopped, and although he had marched half across India continued with the few men left him in pursuit.

* Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 177.

† Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 161.

The Mirza fled with but a few followers and was attacked by some Jhils, Mooltan peasants who dispersed his remaining troops; one of their arrows struck the Mirza himself. He took refuge in the abode of a Dervesh, but as Budaoni remarks where an ascetic is, there treachery is found. Accordingly the Dervesh sent news about the Mirza to a royal officer who made the Mirza a prisoner A.D. 1573. Hasan Khan according to Budaoni made some difficulty about seeing the Mirza, saying: "If when I see him I should salaam to him, it will be inconsistent with my loyalty to the Court; and if I do not, it will be uncourteous, and the Mirza will say to himself, *"This *Qulqachi*, when he received quarter at the siege of Satwas, thought good to make salaams without number; now that evil days are fallen upon me, he treats me cavalierly." The Mirza sent word in reply that he waived the expecting of a salaam. Hasan Khan did eventually go and see him, however, and did make his salaam. After hearing his excuses in which the Mirza thanked God that Hasan Khan, a Sunni, and not Husain Kuli Khan, a Shiah, had defeated him, Hasan Khan left the Mirza imprisoned at Mooltan where he shortly afterwards died. Those of his followers who were made prisoners were treated according to the ordinary oriental fashion. About 300 of them were brought before the Emperor with skins of asses, hogs and dogs drawn before their faces; some were tortured to death, some, history does not tell us how many, probably not many, were set free. Hasan Khan, on hearing of this, let the prisoners, he had himself taken, go. Thereafter he informed the court that as he had no orders concerning them he performed a gracious act which he was sure would be acceptable to His Majesty. Whatever Akbar might have thought he did nothing; the bold offender was pardoned.

* Budaoni, Vol. II, pp. 162-163.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

We now again return to Gujarat. When Akbar first proceeded there the chief men of the country had come into his camp and paid homage, but their obedience only continued as long as he was there. As soon as he returned to Agra, which he did shortly after the battle near Sarnal and the surrender of Surat, affairs in Gujarat again got into a state of confusion. The leader of the rebels, for the historians treat the Gujaratis always as such, was Ikhtiaru-I-Mulk. The Royal General Hasan Khan Karkarah found himself unable to meet his opponents in the field and threw himself into Ahmedabad. At the same time Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza again raised forces and managed to seize a large part of the country. It was under these circumstances that Akbar showed perhaps the greatest instance of his personal activity. He himself looked after the task of preparing an army at Agra. Moghul soldiers were paid by grants of land and so it was difficult to get together an army fit to march at once, as the troops had to obtain from their grants the necessary money and equipment. To save time he supplied everything from the royal treasury. When all was ready Akbar started out ahead with a certain number of companions mounted on she camels and having delayed at Ajmere a short time, to pray at the tomb of the Chisti Saint buried there, but no where else, save for sleep and food, within nine days covered the 800 miles between Fatehpur Sikri and Pattan, a large town in Gujarat, near which he joined his troops. From thence he marched straight to Ahmedabad. There the Mirzas had already joined the rebel Gujaratis. On the morning of his arrival, we are told that, Muhammad Husain Mirza, hearing the royal drums and kettle-drums enquired from an officer in the Imperial army as to the new arrival. On his being told that the Emperor himself was present, he expressed his doubts inasmuch as the royal elephants were not to be seen and his intelligence was that Akbar only a fortnight earlier had been at Fatehpur. The officer replied that elephants could not travel 800 miles in nine days, but that

Akbar was there all the same. Without delay the battle commenced. Akbar placed Abdur Rahim Mirza son of Bairam Khan, who was afterwards one of his greatest Generals, in the centre. He himself took command of no special division but had 100 picked horsemen attached to himself ready to fight wherever aid was most needed. Nizamuddin tells us that he charged the enemy's army like a fierce tiger. After a long fight the Gujaratis and Mirzas were totally defeated. Akbar distinguished himself amongst the foremost. Muhammad Husain Mirza was wounded and taken prisoner. When asked who took him prisoner, he answered, ingratitude to his Majesty. Brought before Akbar he was put into the custody of Rai Singh a Rajtput Chief. He did not long survive. The rebel troops advancing to near where he was seated on an elephant in custody, the Rajputs attending him threw him to the ground and despatched him with their spears. Ikhtiaru-I-Mulk was also slain. After the victory the Emperor entered Ahmedabad. According to the regular Moghul fashion a pyramid was raised from the skulls of those who had fallen in the battle ; about two thousand in number.

Two or three years after the last named event Mirza Aziz Kokoh the Governor, one of the foster clan, was recalled as being incapable ; there seems to have been not much fighting in his time ; his successor was Vazir Khan, but the real authority was with Todar Mul. This Hindu's name has already been mentioned in connection with the overthrow of Khan Zaman. A Katri of Lahore, he seems easily to have raised himself into Akbar's graces (he was employed firstly by Salim Shah), but his first great charge was Gujarat. Todar Mul was as great as an administrator as a soldier and one of his first duties was to assess the Subah of Gujarat. In the rebellion of 1577 in which one of the Mirzas as usual played a part, Todar Mul showed all his best qualities. When Vazir Khan retreated, the Hindu Raja forced him to go on and to relieve Cambay which had been besieged and a battle close to Ahmedabad between rebels and Imperialists was only won by Todar Mul's unbroken determination. He himself, however was shortly afterwards sent to Bengal as

matters there had become very serious and were calling for the best military and administrative talent in the Empire. Gujarat remained for a number of years in a very unsatisfactory state, although of open rebellion there was but little for the next few years when, as we shall see, Muzaffar Shah escaping from Delhi raised fresh commotions aided as usual by some of the Taimurid Mirzas.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BENGAL had since the beginning of the Thirteenth Century been ruled by Muhammedan rulers, who however, seldom professed allegiance even nominal to the rulers of Delhi. After Taimur's invasion it had been completely independent up to the time of Sher Shah. This Monarch brought to an end the dynasty ruling in his time. On his death it broke away from the rule of his successors and after the battle of Paniput we find an Afghan, Sulaiman Kararani ruling the country practically independent though nominally in subordination to Khan Zaman who was the Moghul Viceregent in the Eastern provinces. Sulaiman's Vazir 'Khan Jahan Lodi, who possessed jagir lands of his own on the Sone in Behar, seems to have been a man of very considerable abilities. Sulaiman was pressed on two sides; the Hindu King of Orissa on the South and the Moghul power on the North-West. His method of meeting this pressure was by maintaining friendly relations with the Moghul Court. Accordingly he allowed the Khutbah to be read and money to be coined in Akbar's name and sent away political refugees from his kingdom. By this means he was enabled to carry on undisturbed hostilities against the Hindu power to the South in which he seems to have been on the whole successful. On his death in 1572 A.D. his son Bayazid succeeded for a short time but being vain and incapable was murdered by the Afghan members of his Court; Sulaiman's youngest son Daud succeeded.

The Moghul Lord, of the Eastern Marches, at the time was Munim Khan who had been granted the title of Khan-Khanan.

Confused negotiations and intrigues went on between the various claimants to the Bengal throne after Bayazid's murder, for Daud did not succeed unopposed, in which the Moghuls joined. Civil war at last broke out. Daud, though he seems to have been a sensualist and wanting in manly intelligence, became eventually the sole ruler of Bengal. Khan Jehan Lodi was treacherously seized and put to death. His last advice to his murderer was conveyed in these words—"After I am killed, fight the Moghuls without hesitation. If you do not do so, they will attack you and you will not be able to help yourself." Concerning this murder Budaoni sententiously remarks * "Thus Daud struck his own foot with the axe and at the same time uprooted the plant of his prosperity with the spade of calamity."

As soon as Akbar was free from the Gujarat troubles, he turned his personal attention towards Bengal. Daud Khan commenced war by attacking Khan-Khanan on the western side of the Sone close to the Ganges. Being defeated, he threw himself into Patna. Down the river Jumna came the Emperor with a flotilla of boats from Agra. When he reached Pryag at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, he built there a fort which he named Allahabad. The modern city still retains this name but for Hindus its former name Pryag is still in common use. In holiness Pryag does not yield to Benares itself. Budaoni regarding this place spits out the following:—

† "The Infidels consider this a holy place and with a desire to obtain the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of tortures. Some place their brainless heads under saws, others split their deceitful tongues in two, others enter Hell by casting themselves down the deep river from the top of a high tree." "Although he committed the crime for the sake of reward, he went to Hell all the same by that road of water."

Pushing rapidly forward in consequence of urgent letters from the Khan-Khanan, Akbar reached the outskirt of Patna early in August during the height of the rains. Daud Khan sent out an Embassy to treat with the Emperor. He got as reply a demand for Daud himself to come forth from the city and pay obeisance to Akbar. Nothing came of this. After a fight on the opposite side of the river near Hajipur, at which place the Gundak joins the Ganges, Daud embarked in a boat and fled to Bengal. His troops at the same time retreated by land This is Nizamuddin's account of the retreat :—

* "Gujar Khan Kirani, who was Daud's minister, brought the elephants out, and fled by the rear of the city. On that dreadful night, a foretaste of the day of judgment, the inhabitants were in a state of bewilderment and despair. Some endeavoured to escape by the river, but through the crowding and struggling many of them were drowned. Others endeavoured to fly by land, but were crushed under the feet of elephants and horses in the narrow lanes and streets. Some in their despair cast themselves down from the walls and others perished in the moat. When Gujar Khan came to the Punpun river, he passed his elephants over the bridge; but the fugitives in his rear so pressed and crowded upon the bridge that it broke down, and numbers were precipitated into the water. Those who came up afterwards threw away their arms and clothes, and cast themselves into the river."

Akbar seems to have followed after several hours had elapsed in pursuit and the troops with him seemed to have done considerable execution, but probably in this case, as so often with Eastern armies, panic was the worst foe to the retreating Bengal force

Shortly after this Garhi, near Rajmahal, which once had proved such an obstacle to Humayan, fell without hardly any resistance, Daud himself fleeing to Lower Bengal in the hope of recruiting a fresh army. Akbar himself returned to Agra where he arrived at

* Elliott, Vol. V, pp. 378—379.

the beginning of the year 1575 A. D. By this time Bengal had been almost entirely overrun by the Moghul troops amongst whom the Kakshals, a turbulent clan of Chagatai Turks, seem to have played an important part. We shall hear of them afterwards as rebelling against Akbar's power. The Khan-Khanan remained in nominal charge, but Todar Mul who was immediately under him seems to have been really the person in whom Akbar chiefly trusted. Within a month or two of Akbar's return to Agra, Daud was again in arms. A decisive battle at last took place at Moghulmari in the present district of Midnapur. The fight was long and doubtful. Gujar Khan, Daud's chief General, showed the most reckless bravery. The Moghul van was broken ; Gujar Khan reached the Khan-Khanan himself, who slashed furiously at him with a whip, the only weapon he had. The Khan-Khanan was carried off the field. The day had been lost had the Bengal Afghans held together and not scattered to plunder the Moghul camp. Todar Mul seems to have turned the fortune of the day. Rising in his stirrups and shouting, what harm if the Khan be dead, what fear if the Khan-Khanan has run away, the Empire is ours, he rallied a body of troops and charged the scattered Afghans. Gujar Khan was killed and Daud fled from the field. Pursuit was immediate. Daud threw himself into the fort of Cuttack in the very heart of Orissa, but even there was unable to resist the victorious Moghuls. In a treaty made between him and Khan-Khanan in that place he undertook to do homage of service, to surrender his best elephants and pay up his tribute. He also promised eventually to appear at court. Todar Mul was wrath at the treaty, being all for unconditional submission, and when it was made in spite of him, returned in anger to the Imperial court. The Khan-Khanan's end came very shortly after. Insisting on holding his court as Viceroy of Bengal at Gaur, the former Bengal capital, although this place had been abandoned by the former rulers on account of its unhealthiness, he refused to remove in spite of the considerable mortality which resulted from his staying there. As Nizamuddin tells us—"Sickness of many kinds broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men

departed from Gaur to the grave, and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached to such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river. Every day the death of many Amirs and officers were reported to Khan-Khanan, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days in the month of Safar 983, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him." This was the end of Munim Khan, one of the last of the grandees who accompanied Humayun in his return to India. The newer generation had not known the sufferings of exile. Brought up in the Imperial court, their home and not their temporary residence, was India itself.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Khan-Khanan's death was a signal for a general recrudescence of revolt. The Kakshals who on the Khan's death were the principal Moghul leaders in Bengal, were unable to resist. Daud broke the peace into which he had entered; on hearing of this and of the successes obtained by him, Akbar sent Husain Kuli Khan who had been the Governor of Punjab and whom we have already met at Nagarkot, to Bengal, to take the Khan-Khanan's place. On his arrival he found affairs worse than he expected and wrote urgent messages to Akbar to come himself. Before, however, the latter did so the revolt was at an end.

Gujputi, the Hindu Zemindar, who had caused trouble in Behar was defeated and his levees dispersed. In a fight near Rajmahal, Daud was defeated by the new Governor and pursued by Todar Mul. When led before Husain Kuli Khan he was asked "where is the treaty you made and the oath that you

swore?" to which he replied, "I made that treaty with Khan-Khanan, if you will alight, we will have a little friendly talk together and enter upon another treaty."* Husain Kuli Khan's reply was to order his immediate execution. With his death disturbances on a great scale by the old Afghan rulers ceased in Bengal. Henceforth if there be any trouble in this part of the world, it is from the new Moghul settlers and not from the older Afghans.

It was about this time that Husain Khan, the conqueror of Ibrahim, died. Sometime after the death of the latter person, he had fallen into disgrace in Court and was not allowed before the royal presence. On this account it is said that he determined to become a Kalendar and gave away all that he had. The Emperor on hearing this relented and allowed him to return to his old Perganah at the foot of the Himalayas From there he made again incursions into the lower Himalayas, seemingly attracted by rumours of gold and silver mines. In these razzias he dealt harshly with the royal Governors of the forts which had been constructed by the Moghuls in some of the lower valleys and they reported to Akbar that he was in rebellion. In a fight with one of the Rajas of the lower hills he received a dangerous wound and was brought in that condition to Agra, where, after some days of extreme agony, he died. As a specimen of Budaoni's peculiar style, I give here a quotation as regards his death :—

†"And, that he might attain the full felicity of a true and regular martyrdom. in accordance with the authentic tradition : 'He that is afflicted with the colic is a martyr,' in that distress of expatriation, and grief of exile, and trouble of penury, together with the accident of a wound from Infidels received in a hostile country, and the distraction of a relaxed liver, he removed his baggage from this transitory existence to the eternal Paradise, and the bird of his soul escaping from the cage of this world, that prison of the Believer, at the invitation, 'Return thou, O soul, unto thy Lord, well pleased and well pleasing, flew towards the

* A. D. 1576. † Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 225.

Rosebud, to dwell therein, rest, and in gracious favour, and a garden of delights.'"

"None ever came into the world, who remained there,
Except he, of whom a good name remained."

He was so poor when he died that he did not leave enough for his own funeral. Budaoni's affection for him seems to have been on two accounts. First of all because he was the most Orthodox of Orthodox Sunnis, ever desiring to war with the Hindus as Kafirs, a trait which recommended itself greatly to a man who thought that any one who paid Hindus the common politeness of saluting them had lost the purity of his Muhammedan faith, and secondly, because some part of his generosity had been showered on Budaoni himself.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Rhotasgarh which had ever been used by rebel Afghans now finally fell into Akbar's hands. This was not without severe fighting in which Kala Pahar, the Afgan leader, was killed by reason of being mounted on an unruly elephant. It was about this time that Akbar attempted to organise pilgrimages to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Muhammedan pilgrims had, from the earliest days of Muhammedanism in India, proceeded to these centres of their faith; some by land and some, probably a greater number, by sea. The former route in the sixteenth century took pilgrims through the Shiah Kingdom of Persia and was therefore not a favourite with Orthodox Sunnis. On the other hand the sea route by which one embarked on the Western coast of India was uncertain both as to duration and as to safety, for the ships which carried pilgrims were ordinary trading boats and might proceed to the Persian Gulf or to the coast of Africa before attempting the passage of the Red Sea, if indeed they did not terminate their voyages altogether before reaching that sea. In such cases the pilgrims were forced to finish their journey as best they could. Since the Portuguese had become masters of the Western sea coasts of India, there had arisen another obstacle

to the safe completion of the voyage, as being devout Catholics, the Portuguese objected strongly to any pilgrimages save those to the shrines of their own faith. On the other hand their avarice equalled their bigotry and a high remuneration ensured a safe conduct from them. To remedy this Akbar attempted first of all to lay down rules as to the Haj (as a pilgrimage to the holy cities is called) and to organise the same by appointing a Mir Haji (conductor of the Haj,) working out a plan similar to that by which the conduct of the ordinary Caravan across a desert is governed. He also entered into negotiations with the Portuguese. The main result was that some of the leading men from this Court, who went to Mecca by sea, seemed to have arrived there safely. We learn also that a relic came from Mecca to the Imperial Court in safety, as I shall subsequently relate, but all the same the nett result does not seem to have been altogether satisfactory and during the whole of the sixteenth century and indeed until a period far later, the Portuguese seemed to have permitted or not permitted the Haj much as they pleased.

Before the termination of the war in Bengal, Akbar's attention was called to the other extremity of his dominions. Sulaiman Mirza of whom we have heard, was driven out of his native Badakshan by his own grandson Shah Rukh and sought protection at the Imperial Court. Orders were sent to the Governor of the Punjab Husain Kuli Khan to replace Mirza Sulaiman, but this Governor being transferred to Bengal as I have already related, the matter dropped and Mirza Sulaiman went on pilgrimage to Mecca. The next few years saw a good deal of desultory fighting in Gujarat and also a rebellion, by the new Moghuls in Bengal. This latter seems to have been brought on by the oppressive conduct of Muzaffar Hussain Khan who had succeeded Hussain Kuli Khan as Governor of Bengal. He seems to have offended both by his fiscal administration and by the harshness of his language, not only the Afghans, but also the Moghuls who had settled in that part of India. To one noble he gave the bastanado; to the Kakshals who were the chief noblemen at the time

he paid absolutely no respect nor showed the slightest consideration. The consequence was a revolt, Muzaffar Khan having to flee to the fort of Tandah. From thence he was allured by the Kakshals with promises of safety and then tortured to death. One of the Mirzas who had been sent by Akbar as a prisoner to Bengal, became the nominal head of the rebels. However, success did not continue. Raja Todar Mul along with several Muhammedan Generals were despatched from Head-quarters to put it down. After some little fighting, the leaders of the revolt were either killed, died of disease or fled south to the impenetrable wilds of Orissa. During the rest of the reign Bengal gave but little trouble.

More troublesome to Akbar was Mirza Muhammed Hakim's invasion of India in A.D. 1581. He advanced as far as Lahore to the fort of which he laid siege. Man Sing and his father commanded inside. Before the Mirza had reached Lahore a General of his had been killed in a skirmish with Man Sing's troops. Amongst this General's papers were found three letters to three of the Imperial noblemen of Court. These were sent on by the Rajput leader to Akbar who for a time held his peace about them. Shortly afterwards, however, as Akbar was advancing towards Lahore and was encamped at Paniput the Diwan (Financial Secretary) of the Mirza, professing to have deserted from the Mirza's service, came to the royal camp and asking for Shah Munsur one of the three to whom the letters had been addressed, made through him offers of service to Akbar. What followed I give in Nizamuddin's own words :* When Khwajah Shah Mansur announced his arrival, the Emperor's suspicions were aroused, and he thought that the Diwan's arriving at the time when his master was invading Hindustan must have some policy in it. He was already suspicious of Mansur, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mansur, and showed him the Mirza's letters. Mansur asseverated (his innocence), but it was of no use.

* Elliott, Vol. V, pp. 422-423.

The Emperor proceeded to Shahabad, and Malik Ali brought him a letter to the following effect: "When my scouts were coming from the fort of Ludiana, which is under my charge, and reached the Sarai of Sirhind, they found a footman with swollen feet. This footman said to them, 'I belong to Sharaf Beg the servant of Khwajah Shah Mansur. He is the Khwajah's Shikkdar (under-tenant) in his Jagir of Firozpur, thirty kos from Lahore. These letters are to be delivered to the Khwajah; as my feet are in a bad state, do you convey the letters quickly to him.' These letters my men have brought to me. When the Secretary opened them, one was a letter from Sharaf Beg to Khwajah Mansur, about the affairs of Firozpur, and the other was a letter from one person to another person, and of the following purport: 'I met Faruddin Khan, and he carried me to wait upon Muhammad Hakim Badshah. Although he had sent his Revenue Collectors into all the Perganahs of this quarter, he has not sent any to ours, but has held us exempt.' On hearing and considering these letters, it appeared to his Majesty that Sharaf Beg had written one of them to Khwajah Mansur, and that the other was certainly connected with the coming of Mirza Muhammad Hakim's Diwan Malik Sani to Khwajah Mansur. Many of the Amirs and officers of State were on bad terms with the Khwajah, and these exerted their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged the next morning."

Sometime afterwards Akbar found out that the whole affair had been a plot and that the letters were forgeries; Mansur having been unpopular, mainly as it would seem on account of his strict carrying out of Akbar's financial measures. We are told that Akbar repented, but no repentance unfortunately could bring the dead man back to life.

Mirza Muhammad Hakim was unable to meet the royal army in battle and so retreated to Kabul; the royal army with Prince Murad in nominal command following. After it had arrived at and taken that capital Akbar himself followed in the Autumn of the year 1582 entered Kabul itself. This was the first time of his

revisiting this place from the time when as a child he had set out with his father for the conquest of India. During this campaign Akbar built a fort at Attock on the Indus, a most important position as it commands the upper part of that stream.

In A.D. 1584 Mirza Muhammad Hakim died; he seems, like many others of the race of Taimur, to have been exceedingly fond of strong drink, and this probably hastened his end. On his death the two faithful Rajputs, Bhagwan Das and Man Sing, were sent to take possession of Kabul, of which place the latter became Governor. This is the only occasion which history records of a Hindu Governor of Kabul. Before the Mirza's death there had been a great deal of plotting in Badakshan; Sulaiman the old grandfather on the one hand having thrown in his lot with Baber's old enemies the Uzbegs and Shah Rukh more or less being supported by the Mirza. Finally, however, both Sulaiman and Shah Rukh came to Akbar's Court, the former dying in Lahore and the latter entering Akbar's services; marrying one of his daughters and becoming one of his leading Generals. Badakshan seems never to have been thoroughly recovered by Akbar; any hold he may have had on the country was of the very slightest, but the threatened aggression of the Uzbegs—for these sons of the desert were ever to be feared, they having no idea of containing themselves in the highlands of Central Asia—caused one great change in Akbar's life. He removed the head-quarters of his court from Agra to Lahore where it continued to be for fourteen years from 1584—1598 A.D. In the latter year Abdullah, the powerful Uzbeg chief, died. After his death no further aggression seems to have been feared from the Uzbegs, and Akbar made again his capital Agra.

As regards the lands known as Southern Afghanistan and Sinde during this reign but little need be said. Early in the reign A.D. 1571 Bakhar, the chief town of the Muhammedan rulers of Sinde after a long siege, came into Akbar's power. Later on in the year 1591 Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan (Bairam's son) who got at that time the title of Khan-Khanan, had severe fighting with the local chiefs in Southern Sinde. Jani Beg, his

chief opponent, fought against him both on land and in boats. The decisive factor in the campaign seems to have been the matter of supply. Finally, the rebels yielded and Sinde, nominally at least, became entirely an Imperial domain.

As regards Kandahar, the seat of Akbar's Government in Southern Afghanistan, there seems to have been no serious trouble either on the side of Persia or of rebellion during the reign.

The first result of Akbar's conquest of Kabul or rather of its incorporation within his Indian Empire, for Mirza Muhammad Hakim had always been semi-independent, was a fierce war in what we now call the North-West Frontier. The hill-men of that part, as the British know by long experience, are very dangerous in their native hills, being democratic to a degree and fanatically attached to their liberty. Fighting in the fastnesses of their country which afford the best of natural defences, they have ever resisted any attempts to bring them into subjection to any of the adjoining monarchies.

A special cause at this particular time set the whole of the frontier on fire. For many years Bayazid, a Muhammedan Secretary, had been preaching a special form of Muhammedanism in which communism on the one hand and the destruction of the enemies of Islam on the other, seem to have been two of the leading features. Add to this, his suggestion that he was the Mehdi (the Messiah) to come and we have all the elements of religious explosion. Bayazid died a few years before the time at which we now are, but one of his sons Jalaluddin, nicknamed by orthodox Muhammedans as Jalala (ignorant), carried on his work. He was still only a boy in the year 1585 A.D., but what with the veneration with which his father was remembered and what with the detestation of Akbar's regular troops marching to Kabul and holding the country in a very different way from the way that Mirza Muhammad Hakim had done; he was able to raise the whole of the frontier tribes into a combination against the new power, and as these tribes held the mountains and passes between the lowlands of

Hindustan and the highlands of Afghanistan, they became a most formidable enemy. The followers of Jalala, I may say whether by way of disdain or praise, were nicknamed the Roshanis, *i.e.*, the Illuminated. Many of the tribes such as the Yusufsais did not accept the religious creed of the Roshanis, being orthodox Sunnis, but all the same there was a combination of orthodox and heterodox, of the illuminated and non-illuminated against the Moghul power. Against the Yusufsais who seemed to have been the most important of the tribes at the time and who inhabited the country of Surat marched Zain Khan Kokoh at the end of year A.D. 1585. Supporting him came a few days later Abdul Fath and Raja Birbul. As long as the troops were in the plain country all went well, but when they got to the hills, things absolutely changed. There, as the British troops have too often experienced, a series of rearguard actions took place, the result of which was the complete disorganisation of the Royal troops. The historians tell us that the Generals themselves were at loggerheads with each other, that they had no common plan of action, and that the result was that the army got into a state of absolute confusion. The story of the last action I had better give in Nizamuddin's own words.

* "When they reached the pass of Karagar, a person observed to Raja Birbul that the Afghans meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four kos, and that if they got through the pass, they would be safe from the attack designed. Raja Birbul, without making any communication to Zain Khan, pushed on to get through the pass and all his army followed at close of day, when the sun was about to set, they reached a defile, the height of which on every side were covered with Afghans. Arrows and stones were showered down upon the troops in the narrow pass, and in the darkness and in the narrow defile men lost their path and perished in recesses of the mountain. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly 8,000 men were killed, and Raja

* Elliott, Vol. V, p. 451.

Birbul, who fled for his life, was slain. Raja Dharm Singh, Khwaja Arab, *bakshi* of the army, and * * * were all killed. On the 5th Rabi-ul-awwal, Zain Khan Kokoh and Hakim Abul Fath were defeated and reached the fort of Attock with difficulty."

Akbar was, as was to be expected, greatly troubled by this untoward event. Raja Birbul was one of his best friends, and for two days after he neither ate nor would he see any one. Stories telling how this Raja had survived the defeat, and turning an asetic was wandering over the Afghan hills, were current for years afterwards. There seems to be no reasonable doubt that he was killed in this terrible action. Todar Mul and Man Sing were appointed to take the place of the dead Hindu General and of the disgraced Muhammedan. Characteristically the former originated a different sort of campaign. No more were there to be gigantic raids followed by withdrawal. On the other hand, a scientific exploitation of the country by the erection of forts was taken in hand. Of further actions we read but few; though in the latter days of the reign we read of further fights or rather skirmishes with Jalala. In one of these he fell at Ghazni many years after A.D. 1601.

Man Sing was not long retained as Governor of Kabul after these events. In 1587 A.D. he was transferred to the Government of Behar. It was about this time A.D. 1584 that Akbar got possession of Kashmir. Nearly half a century before this Mirza Haidar, parting from Humayun at Lahore, had seized this beautiful country. After his death it fell again into the hands of Native Chiefs; but when Akbar had well advanced in power, he being incited thereto largely by domestic dissensions amongst the rulers of Kashmir, determined to bring it again under Moghul sway.

As regards the actual fighting not much need be said. The conquest seems to have been comparatively easy, though there was the usual amount of desultory skirmishes.

In 1589 A.D. Akbar visited this his new conquest for the first time. It is not for me to describe the glories of this country,

but my readers must remember, that what we talk of as a hill station was unknown to Akbar. The Himalayas were to the Moghuls ever the home of Kafirs and Jinns. Not in the greatest height of their power did they ever think as the modern English have done of making their summer residence in the lower ranges of these hills, and so the only substitute for a hill station, a substitute worth, however, much more than its original, which they ever knew, was Kashmir itself; Akbar twice visited this country, the second time in 1592 A.D. After his death, his successors especially Jehangir used constantly to be found in this most enchanting of regions.

I now have to return to Gujarat again. Revolts here broke out in the year 1584 A.D. on such a scale as to force the Royal troops into the forts leaving the rest of country at the mercy of the rebels. Muzaffar, who had formerly been taken prisoner by Akbar in the early seventies and who had escaped from Court, was one of the principal movers in the rebellion. Nizamuddin, the historian, was himself in the Deccan at the time as a Government servant and tells us that for a considerable time Akbar's power in Gujarat was entirely wiped out. To recover the province Mirza Abdur Rahim, Bairam's son the Khan-Khanan, was sent by Akbar. He attacked Muzaffar near Ahmedabad and after a severe action completely defeated him. In 1583 A.D. being defeated a second time Muzaffar Khan fled to Cutch praying for help from the Jam of that country. This, however either he did not get or if he did get it at all, he only had half-hearted assistance. After a variety of adventures in which he at times was temporarily successful, he was finally run to earth and taken prisoner in the year A.D. 1591. Shortly after his capture he cut his throat with a razor; with him ended the last dangerous rebellion in Gujarat.

From this time forward this province will be used as a jumping-off point for invasions of the Deccan, concerning which country I must now say a few words.

CHAPTER XXXII.

DECCAN.

I HAVE already in writing of Baber told how at the time he came to India there were five Muhammedan States in the Deccan. Early in Akbar's reign the ruler of Khandesh, Raja Ali Khan, became one of his feudatories, not altogether loyal certainly, but still in disputes between the North and the South generally to be found on the side of North. The Bidar Kingdom was by this time partly incorporated in Khandesh, partly in Ahmadnuggur. This last kingdom Ahmadnuggar, Bijapur and Golconda, which were the three remaining Deccan Muhammedan kingdoms, were at this time (about 1588 A.D.) at the height of their power. Combined they had overthrown, not many years after the accession of Akbar in the year A.D. 1565, the Raja of Bijanaggar at the battle of Talikot on the Krishna. The capital of this Raja, the town of Bijanaggar, was the largest town in Southern India, and its Hindu ruler practically ruled over the whole of the Peninsula South of the present Nizam's dominions. With his overthrow and death at Talikot the disintegration of the Hindu power in the South was complete, no new kingdom of any size succeeding, although but a small part of Bijanaggar territory fell under the direct power of the conquering Muhammedan States. Of the Muhammedan kingdoms, Ahmadnuggar was the furthest North, its boundary marching largely with that of Gujarat, and it was with Ahmadnuggar that after the final subjugation of Gujarat Akbar came in conflict.

The war with this State began in the good old-fashioned way. Burhan Nizam Shah II had been expelled by a rival faction from the throne, and seeking refuge in Akbar's dominions was treated by the Emperor with considerable favour and granted a jagir. After some time he managed to replace himself on his throne in A.D. 1590. In the following year Akbar sent ambassadors to the Kings of the Deccan demanding some sort of formal recognition of his over lordship of the Deccan. They

all returned, so says Ferishta, with refusals on the part of the Kings, to admit Akbar's supremacy. As one of the kingdoms was Khandesh, of which Raja Ali Khan was ruler, and as this chieftain had long been more or less in Akbar's employ, the story as regards him cannot be correct, especially as we find him afterwards fighting on the Moghul side, but as regards the three kingdoms there is no doubt of its correctness. What had they to do with Delhi, they naturally asked ?

Akbar's armies were not destined ever to reach either Bijapur or Golconda, but Ahmadnuggur territory was close to the Delhi Empire's boundary. Moreover Burhan Nizam Shah II being dead, this State was reduced more or less to anarchy, and consequently an Imperial party was to be found in the Kingdom itself. Prince Murad at the time was the nominal Governor of Gujarat, the Khan-Khanan Bairam's son being the real ruler. These two besieged Ahmadnuggur itself in A.D. 1505. For the three months that the siege lasted, approaches were made in the most approved fashion. The place was defended by Princess Chand Bibi, a Bijapur Princess, who showed by her conduct, that not only Rajputs but Muhammedan women could on occasions be the bravest of the brave. Ferishta tells us that Prince Murad and Sadik Muhammad Khan, one of the Royal Generals, being jealous of the Khan-Khanan, ordered an attack without giving the latter notice. What followed I tell in Ferishta's own words :* " Desirous of gaining all the credit of taking the place they set fire to the trains of the mines, upon which three exploded and blew up fifty guz (eighty feet) of the wall The Moghuls now waited for the explosion of the other two mines, which had been destroyed by the besieged, who, recovering from the surprise occasioned by the explosion, defended the breach with great bravery. Chand Bibi appeared with a veil on her head. She caused guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen

* Ferishta. Vol. II, p. 272.

and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet before daylight with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcases."

After this repulse negotiations were entered into between the two parties, the Moghul army suffering from a scarcity of provisions. The result of these was that it was agreed that Akbar should retain Bidar, one of the Deccan minor kingdoms which he had already overrun, while Ahmadnuggur should remain in the hands of the Nizam Shah. Chand 'Bibi thereupon resigned her authority to the youthful Bahadur Nizam Shah, the grandson of the late Burhan Nizam Shah. The real authority fell into the hands of his Minister and disturbances through this man's conduct began again. The peace made by Akbar's generals was broken, whether by them or by the Ahmadnuggur Rulers it is difficult to say, but in any case the Khan-Khanan found himself shortly in face of a combined Ahmadnuggur Bijapur army with which he was forced to fight at the battle of Ashti A D. 1597.

This was one of the most severely contested fights in Akbar's reign. Sohail Khan, who commanded the Bijapur troops, put to flight the Moghuls opposite to him, Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh being amongst the slain. The Khan-Khanan, on the other hand, was victorious over the troops opposed to him. On his return, from pursuing the enemy he was surprised to find that a great part of the latter's force still kept the field. He now learnt for the first time that the greater part of his army had been defeated and had fled. What followed I give in Ferishta's own language :* "Sohail Khan's troops unconsciously lit fires of flambeaux, which gave to Khan-Khanan an opportunity of perceiving their position. He accordingly ordered a few shots from his Artillery to be fired among them, which threw them into temporary confusion ; but Sohail Khan causing the fires to be extinguished, and changing his ground, avoided the danger, and sent skirmishers to collect such of his troops as might be found over the plain and in adjacent villages."

* Ferishta, Vol. II, pp. 275-76.

Khan-Khanan also took similar steps to collect his men by blowing his trumpets and beating to arms, which being heard by such of his troops as were in the vicinity they hastened to join him. Several of the Moghuls meeting with bands of the Decannies in the dark they fought and formed a scene of confusion not easily described, while "Allah! Allah! Oh God! Oh God!" resounded from all sides; and every eye was fixed with anxiety upon the East, in expectation of the dawn. When day appeared, Sohail Khan was seen marching towards the Moghuls with twelve thousand horse; and though the troops of Khan-Khanan did not exceed three or four thousand in number, he determined to dispute the field, and formed his line. The second battle raged with redoubled fury on both sides. Sohail Khan after performing prodigies of valour, worn out by fatigue and loss of blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependents, however, bore him off the ground, and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khan-Khanan master of the field; but being in no condition to pursue the fugutives, the Moghuls returned to Shahpoor."

The next fighting of any importance was caused by the defection of Raja Ali Khan's son, Mir Bahadur Khan. Besieged in Asir, a fortress of very great strength, even for Central India, he resisted the Moghul forces for over a year. Akbar himself came to the scene of action, to encourage his men and to superintend his Generals who were suspected, not altogether without cause, of slackness and unwillingness to act vigorously. Regular approaches were most difficult to make on account of the nature of the soil, and the fortress itself was only taken by the combined effects of pestilence, famine and fear of treachery. Bahadur's own men were willing to surrender him to Akbar, when he put an end to the siege by surrendering himself in A.D. 1600.

Bahadur Khan was sent as a State prisoner to Gwalior. As regards Ahmadnuggur, Chand Bibi, after the battle of Ashti, again resumed power, but her reign did not last long. She was accused of being in treaty with the invaders and murdered. Shortly after her death the Moghuls arrived and after a very

short siege, carried the place by storm in A.D. 1601. All the country North of Khandesh as well as that country itself ceased in future to even have a shadow of independence. Ahmadnuggur, however, was not finally subdued by the fighting in A.D. 1601, and it was not till 40 years later that the State, of which it was the capital city, became finally incorporated within the Delhi dominions.

In the year 1598 A.D. the Imperial capital returned from Lahore to Agra. Akbar's two sons, Murad and Danyal, made nominal governors in the latter years of the reign of Gujarat and of the Deccan, died within a few years of each other on account of excessive drinking. Only one son, named Salim, remained, and he was by no means a favourite of his father. To Akbar's later days and death, I shall return hereafter. At present all that is necessary for me to say is that he died in 1605 A.D. two years after Queen Elizabeth, whose contemporary he was. His reign began two years before hers, but he was ten years her junior in age.

As regards the military results of this reign, they may be briefly summed up as follows :

In A.D. 1556 when Akbar came to the throne he was ruler of Central and Southern Afghanistan. His troops were also in military occupation of the Upper Punjab and the tracts immediately around Delhi and Agra. At his death he was undisputed lord of the whole of Hindustan North of the Vindhya hills, including Kashmir, still retaining full power over his Western domain of the highlands of Afghanistan up to the Southern passes of the Hindukush. On the East, moreover, his power stretched as far as Dacca and the Brahmaputra in lands where efficient Delhi rule had never stretched before. Gujarat and Malwa, till the Mahratta uprising a century after, ceased to give any trouble. Sinde also became wholly Moghul. On the Southern slopes of the Vindhya he had acquired a *point d'appui* for the conquest of Southern India. The power of the former Afghan families in Bengal, Behar and elsewhere had been totally broken. Rebellions during the next 100 years there may be, but these, if

of Muhammedan origin, are invariably either of a member of the Royal family or of a discontented army officer. Territorial rebellions amongst Muhammedans totally ceased. The explanation of these results is not to be found merely or indeed mainly in the history of Akbar's wars. Arts of peace were needed to supplement the blows of battle. Later I propose to work out in some little detail what were the methods of administration whereby a modern State, for such his was, arose. The Afghans' kingdoms had never been more than purely feudal military hegemonies.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Our chief authorities as to the life of Akbar are four, all of whom had more or less to do with the events of the reign. These are Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, Nizam Uddin Ahmad, Abdul Kadir Budaoni, and Abul Fazl. The first, a native of Astrabad on the banks of the Caspian, spent the greater part of his life at the Bijapur Court. He is valuable sometimes as an eye-witness as in the case of the Deccan wars, and in the reign of Akbar's successor, Jehangir, he visited the Imperial Court. He is also considered the most reliable of all Indian historians who have written of any considerable period of Indian History, but still he hardly concerns us at present as the Deccan wars play but a very subordinate part in Akbar's reign, and he wants the personal touch of the others I have named. As to other events, we have the testimony of these three, all of whom were, during the greater part of the reign, holding situations at the Imperial Court. Of the three, Nizamuddin is a matter-of-fact prosaic chronicler; Abul Karim, a censorious critic, his view being perverted both by his orthodoxy and by the feeling that he was not rewarded properly by the Emperor: and Abul Fazl, a learned flatterer, to whom every act of his master is divinely inspired. As regards facts, I think we may take the first as the safest guide. A good Muhammedan himself, he does not feel called upon to criticise Akbar's deviations from orthodoxy. Wherever he was employed, and he held both in

Gujarat and in the North-West on more than one occasion posts of responsibility, he seems to have behaved both with ability and integrity. That he was personally a lovable man is clear from the character given him by Budaoni who thus wrote about him after his death : * "At the age of forty-five he succumbed to a burning fever, and left this transitory world, taking nothing with him but a good name. A host of friends and companions, who had been witnesses of the excellence of his qualities, and had entertained great hopes of him, and especially to the poor author (who cherished for him a kind of religious *unanimity*, and a sincere friendship free from all worldly motives), poured tears of regret from their eyes, and beat their bosoms with the stone of despair, and in the end had no resource left but patience and endurance, which is a characteristic of the pure, and a quality of the pious. I looked upon this event as the greatest misfortune, and took therefrom a perfect warning, so that I never afterwards formed a friendship with any human being, but regarded the corner of obscurity as best suited to me." In Abdul Kadir, we have a very different character. A native of Basawar near Budaon he got a thorough education of the old Muhammedan sort at Agra. Returning to his home he seems to have got his first service under Hasan Khan, the Subahdar of Sambhal. I have already quoted his praises of this man. He tells us himself in repentant language how in his own early days the eyes of his wisdom were covered with a film of lust, and he was enclosed in a net of lasciviousness, how in plain language he was detected in a discreditable intrigue and soundly belaboured by the offended parties. Coming to Akbar's Court he was given a petty appointment carrying with it the dignity of a Commander of twenty and made a Court preacher. Evidently no favourite of Akbar's, he never advanced far in the way of promotion. For some months once he absented himself from Court, and Akbar, declining to accept his plea of sickness, suspended his allowances. His grant of land was but small, and he is ever comparing himself

* Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 411.

to the better treated Abul Fazl. His hatred for not only Hindus but also for non-Sunni Muhammedans was intense. A Shiah was brutally and treacherously murdered by a Sunni at Lahore for having spoken disrespectfully of the four Caliphs. He has no words of pity for the murdered man who had, he says, a face like a pig, but the Sunni is a martyr. Superstitious to a degree he believes his infant son to have died because he did not have the Koran read over him. On the other hand, although anxious to learn sortilege, he draws back when his instructor tells him that the indispensable condition is that he should become a Shiah. Directed to translate into Persian the Hindu epics, the Mahabharat and Ramayan, he obeys much in the spirit of Pistol when eating the leak.

Defending his conduct in translating the latter he writes :*

"And from that black book, which is naught like the book of my life, I flee to God for refuge. The transcription of atheism is not atheism, and I repeat the declaration of faith in opposition to heresy, why should I fear (which God forbid) that a book, which was all written against the grain, and in accordance with a strict command, should bring with it a curse. O God! I verily take refuge in thee from associating anything with thee, and I know, and I beg thy forgiveness for that which I know not, and I repent of it, and say : 'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah.' And thus my penitence is no penitence caused by fear. May it be accepted at the Court of the Gracious and Liberal." Faizi, Abul Fazl's brother, a poet and a heretic, dies according to him barking like a dog. And yet he has a great respect for his own skin, and when Akbar mentions to Abul Fazl that Budaoni seems a bigoted lawyer such that 'no sword can sever the jugular vein of his bigotry,' he defends himself from the charge, though in more favourable times he would have declared his bigotry or piety as he would have called it, a virtue and not a vice. From such a man we can expect that Akbar's deviations from religious orthodoxy would find no favour, and that

* Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 378.

we have to discount his stories concerning the same, as being certainly exaggerated. Notwithstanding this, in general history we find his accounts closely tally with those of Nizamuddin, and as regards religious matters, though much is to be found in him alone, still where Abul Fazl and he speak of the same thing, it is the point of view rather than the fact that differs. As a whole then we may accept him as the speaker of truth.

Abul Fazl was a very different character. His father, Mubarak, a man of great learning, was considered by the orthodox in the days of the Sur dynasty to be a heretic. More than once he narrowly escaped being punished with death. In all Muhammedan lands, there is a revolt on the part of some of the more imaginative and cultured against the dry bones alone offered by their religion. Islam, with its many virtues, is in its tendencies practical, hard, wanting in spirituality and opposed to the mysticism which is often the very salt of life and which leads men and women to be intoxicated in the divine love. God is, according to Islam, ever a Judge, never a familiar. Against this men's minds ever revolt, and in all Muhammedan countries from time to time sects spring up, whose underlying principle is a close personal communion with the deity. Surrounding circumstances may vary, creeds may differ, but there are ever in all lands, whether they be called Christian mystics, Muhammedan Sufis, or by any other name, persons to whom this intimate intercourse is the most real fact in their lives. In the tenth century after the Hegira all over the Muhammedan world there was a great religious ferment. As with the Christians when the first thousand years of their era were coming to an end, they imagined the end of the world was near. Muhammedans are taught that before the end comes there will be the rule of the Messiah, whom they name the Mehdi. Mubarak was profoundly impressed by these beliefs, and in them he brought up his two sons, Faizi and Abul Fazl. The former, a poet, was summoned to Court by Akbar when besieging Chitor. Akbar seems to have taken to him from the first, and when Abul Fazl was subsequently called there, his favourable reception was

assured. Before this event he seems to have determined to live the life of a recluse. He writes in his Akbarnamah* : "As fortune did not at first assist me, I almost became selfish and conceited, and resolved to tread the path of proud retirement. The number of pupils that I had gathered around me, served but to increase my pedantry. In fact, the pride of learning had made my brain drunk with the idea of seclusion. Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after truth, and enjoyed the society of such as are empty-handed, but in rich mind and heart, my eyes were open, and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so-called learned. The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from outbreaks of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the Lamas of Thibet or with the Padris of Portugal, and would gladly sit with the priest of the Parsis and the learned of the Zendavesta. I was sick of the learned of my own land. My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the Emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy, indeed, am I now that I have found in my Sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement; in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the Orient where the light of form and ideal dawns; and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonise with the spiritual unity of truth. I was thus presented at Court. As I had no worthy treasures to lay at the feet of His Majesty, I wrote a commentary to the Ayatul-Kursi, and presented it when the Emperor was at Agra. I was favourably received, and His Majesty graciously accepted my offering." His rise was speedy. He soon acquired an influence over Akbar's mind, which, as far as speculative matters were concerned,

* Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. xi-xii.

was equalled by that of no other member of the Court. He was accused on all sides of having led away the Emperor from the true creed. Possibly, as I have already said, Hindu wives and Imperial policy had more than any other causes to do with this, but personal influence is ever considered the most potent and he became execrated by Muhammedans as the Arch Heretic.* Certain it is that he encouraged Akbar in his wandering away from the straight and narrow path of Islam.

His own views are summed up in the following lines†:—

"O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee,

Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal."

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,

But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,

But the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller."

Whether Akbar entered into the whole of Abul Fazl's mysticism is doubtful. Probably as regards a great deal of his religious speculations he simply listened to him as he would to the doctrines of other religions, but it is certain that both were alike in strongly disliking orthodox Sunni Muhammedanism and in holding fast to the principle of religious toleration.

Abul Fazl seems for many a year to have almost constantly been an attendant on Akbar, but in the latter years of the reign after the death of his brother Faizi, who died 1595 A.D., he was sent on active service. This was to the Deccan. Bahadur Khan, son of Raja Ali Khan, tried to gain him over by means of bribes.

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* See other passages.

† Blochmann, Vol. I, p. xxxii.

These, however, Abul Fazl refused. *"I have made a vow," said he in returning the presents, "not to accept presents till four conditions are fulfilled. (1) friendship; (2) that I should not value the gift too high; (3) that I should not have been anxious to get a present; and (4) necessity to accept it. Now supposing that the first three are applicable to the present case, the favour of the Empire has extinguished every desire in me of accepting gifts from others."

When Akbar himself came to the siege of Asir, he enquired into the work done by Abul Fazl, and was so well pleased that he promoted him to the rank of a Commander of 4,000. He did not long survive this promotion. He ever had a deadly enemy in Prince Salim who considered that, he was the cause of his father's affections being alienated from him. When going to Court from the Deccan in 1602 A.D., he was waylaid and killed by Bir Singh, a Bundela Chief, not very far from Ujain. Prince Salim who afterwards became Jehangir, and wrote his own Memoirs, writes thus about Abul Fazl's death: † "On my accession, I promoted Rajah Bir Singh, a Bundela Rajput, to a command of 3,000. He is one of my favourites, and he is certainly distinguished among his equals for his bravery, good character, and straightforwardness. My reason for promoting him was this. Towards the end of my father's reign, Shaik Abul Fazl, a Hindustani Sheikh by birth, who was well-known for his learning and wisdom, and who had externally ornamented himself with the jewel of loyalty, though he sold himself at a high price to my father, had been called from the Dakhin. He was no friend of mine, and damaged openly and secretly my reputation. Now about that time, evil-minded and mischievous men had made my father very angry with me, and I knew that, if Abul Fazl were to come back to Court, I would have been deprived of every chance to effect a reconciliation. As he had to pass on his way through the territory of Bir Singh Bundela, who at that time had rebelled against the Emperor,

* Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. i, p. xxi. † Blochmann Ain-i-Akbari Vol. i. p. xxvi.

I sent a message to the latter to say that, if he would waylay Abul Fazl and kill him, I would richly reward him. Heaven favoured him, and when Abul Fazl passed through his land, he stopped him on his way, dispersed after a short fight his men, killed him, and sent his head to me at Allahabad. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abul Fazl's death produced one good result. I could now without further annoyance go to my father and his bad opinion gradually wore away."

Abul Fazl was the author of two works concerning Akbar's reign; one is the Akbarnama, and the other the Ain-i-Akbari. The latter is mainly a statistical report of Akbar's dominions and is in this respect invaluable, but as regards the Akbarnama and the part of Ain-i-Akbari which is not statistical his extreme reverence for Akbar and his desire to hide everything inconsistent with the perfect character with which he endows Akbar; (for to him the Emperor's voice is rather that of a god than of a man) lessen very considerably his value as a historian. However, as I have already said about Budaoni, it is not so much as to Abul Fazl's facts as to his way of looking at the facts of which we have to be cautious.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Out of the accounts of the four historians, whom I have mentioned and particularly out of those of the last three one is able fairly well to reconstruct the main features of Akbar's life work. I have already at considerable length written concerning the wars in which he and his troops were constantly engaged. Now, I turn first of all to Akbar's personality and then to the administration of his extensive Empire. Before doing so, however, it is desirable to say a few words, even at the reproach of being tedious as to the Millieu in which he was brought up. The Chagatai Turks were in many ways different from the old Mongol sons of the steppes, but still they had much in common with the latter. The Torah, the divine law of Chenghiz Khan, was still quoted and when necessary put into practice. The

kettledrums and horse-tails were still signs of dignity, and the Chagatais, though they were largely dwellers of towns, had never altogether given up their nomad habits. Baber and Humayun were never so happy as when dwelling like their ancestors before them in tents. Akbar himself was more of a dweller in houses than either his father or grandfather, but still he seems to have loved an occasional wander for the mere sake of wandering. His three great successors had the same feeling. Camp life was what they all seemed to have loved best. Indeed, the modern name for the language talked by the large majority of the people of Hindustan, a language I may say with a pure Hindi grammar, but with a very large infusion of Persian and Arabic words, is Urdu, which really means the camp language, the old Mongol encampment having been known as an Urdu. Along with this love these Chagatais had an intense love for sport as understood by them. The common form of this was an enormous battue. A large tract of country was surrounded on all sides by armed men, sometimes even by an army who gradually pressed in, driving the game into a more and more contracted space until at last hundreds of animals if not thousands, were congregated together and afforded easy and abundant sport to the ruler and his grandees. India in these days seems to have been a golden country for sportsmen. Tigers were to be found everywhere, elephants were found close to Agra, and wild asses abounded both near Bikanir and not very far from Benares. War by decimating the population must have necessarily aided in increasing wild beasts. An old Moghul custom maintained by the Muhammedan rulers long after Akbar's time was the weighing of themselves on certain days against gold, silver and precious stones and giving the same away. Akbar, seems to have faithfully followed this custom all the days of his life on the Persian New Year as well as on his birthday.

The Chagatai Muhammedanism had as its most special feature a great respect for holy men. These were very different in type from Catholic ascetics. With the Muhammedan holiness is rather the result of learning than of any special purity of life.

and many of these holy men were really the leading politicians of Central Asia. Not only were they respected when alive, but their tombs were objects of pilgrimage when dead. Akbar had this respect imbibed in him from infancy. In his early days he was in the habit of making periodical pilgrimages from time to time to the shrine of one of the Chisti Saints at Ajmere. This he afterwards discontinued, but after many years Budaoni* tells us he went again to this place walking on foot for the last ten miles whereupon the author remarks: "But sensible people smiled, and said, 'It was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwajah of Ajmere, while he rejected the foundation of everything, our prophet, from whose 'skirt' hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree had sprung.'"

It was in the house of one of the Chisti Saints that his sons were born. Near this house Akbar built a palace, and a small town sprang up. The place was locally called Sikri. Akbar gave it the name of Fatehpur-Sikri, and to this day it is one of the show places of India, being situated about 14 miles from Agra, and the buildings being in almost complete preservation. Budaoni, † the scandalous, says about this Chisti Saint the following:

"And such was the disposition of that paragon of excellence, his grace the Sheikh, that he allowed the Emperor to have the entrée of all his most private apartments, and however much his sons and nephews kept saying, 'Our wives are becoming estranged from us,' the Emperor would answer, 'There is no dearth of women in the world, since I have made you Amirs, seek other wives, what does it matter?'"

"Either make no friendship with an elephant-driver,
Or make a house fit for an elephant"

Akbar was brought up a Sunni, but his father Humayun seems to have imbibed some of the Shiah doctrines while in Persia, and Bairam Beg was a most rigid member of this sect.

* Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 280.

† Budaoni, Vol. II. p. 113.

The tendency of the Shiah doctrines is towards greater liberalism than that of Sunni-ism; but the Shiah of that time who had only shaken off the Sunni yoke half a century previous, was as proud and illiberal a person as any Sunni. The influences which surrounded Akbar in his early years, as far as they emanated from the men around him were those of a pure exclusive Muhammedan nature, save where these were modified by Central Asian traditions. It is almost certain, however, that in his father's harem and in his own in early days there was a number of Hindu women. One Muhammedan worthy of the time is said to have stated that a man should have four wives; one to bear children, one to nurse them, one to converse with, and one to whip as an example to the others.

These four, he added, should be of four different nationalities, *viz.*, Afghan, Hindu, Persian and of Mawer-an-Naher. To the Hindu was given the duty of bringing up children, and it is very probable that in Akbar's youth Hindu women had much to do with his nurture and domestic education. It was amidst these surroundings that he grew up. He could hardly have failed to observe the self-seeking of most of the nobles of his court. In any case after Bairam's death, he seems to have determined to trust mainly to himself. We have a description of his personal appearance in Jehangir's Memoirs.

*"He was of middle stature but inclining to be tall; his complexion was wheaten or nut-coloured, rather dark than fair: his eyes and eyebrows dark and the latter running across into each other; with a handsome person, he had a lion's strength which was indicated by an extraordinary breadth of chest and the length of his arms and hands. On the left side of his nose there was a fleshy wart which in contemporary eyes appeared exceedingly beautiful and was considered auspicious of riches and prosperity. His voice was loud and his speech elegant and pleasing. His manners and habits were different from those of other people, and his visage was full of godly dignity."

* Jehangir's Memoirs, p. 45.

Extremely athletic and active, he would have been a terror of modern Ante-opium leagues for he, like his friends the Rajputs, was passionately addicted to this drug. On the other hand, he was not a lover of meat, and in this respect would have delighted our friends the vegetarians. As to his personal activity, I have related one instance of it already in his rapid journey from Agra to Pattan in the year 1573 A.D. He was accustomed to walk great distances, especially when on pilgrimage and was a first-class swimmer and rider. In his favourite game Chougan, a sort of polo, he excelled, and stories of his personal bravery and skill in killing tigers, even though they may be largely discounted, still bear witness to his intrepidity as a sportsman. He is said to have been able neither to read nor write. Neither was Homer nor many of the sages of old, but this did not prevent him from taking intense interest in matters such as history and theology, and in being able to comprehend intricate philosophical speculations. We are told that he was often to be seen early in the morning sitting on a stone in front of his palace at Fatehpur-Sikri, plunged in silent contemplation, and there can be no doubt that he grasped fully the main points in the various social and theological discussions which were carried on in his presence.

Budaoni with his ears ever open for scandalous stories tells us that Akbar in the first instance intended to connect himself by marriage with the nobles of Delhi, and that eunuchs were sent into various harems for the purposes of selecting daughters of these nobles. He adds that upon this a great terror fell upon the city. How the whole matter started he relates thus: *"A widowed daughter-in-law of Shaikh Badah, Fatimah by name (though unworthy of such an honourable appellation), through evil passions and pride of life, which bear the fruit of wantonness, by the intervention of her tire-women lived in adultery with Baqi Khan, brother of Buzrug Adhan Khan, whose house was near hers. And this adultery was afterwards dragged into a marriage. She used to bring with her to festive gatherings,

* Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 59.

another daughter-in-law of Shaikh Badah, who had a husband living, whose name was Abul-ul-Wasi. And the story of the pious cat, which is told in the beginning of the Anwar-i-Sohaili, came true. Now this woman, whose husband was still living, was wonderfully beautiful, and altogether a charming wife without a peer. One day it chanced that the eyes of the Emperor fell upon her, and so he sent to the Shaikh a proposal of union and held out hopes to the husband. For it is law of the Moghul Emperor that, if the Emperor cast his eye with desire on any woman, the husband is bound to divorce her, as is shown in the story of Sultan Abu-Said and Mir Choban and his son Damashk Khawajah. Then Abul-ul-Wasi, reading the verse, 'God's earth is wide.'

'To a master of the world the world is not narrow,' bound three divorces in the corner of the skirt of his wife, and went to the city Bidar in the Kingdom of the Deccan, and so was lost sight of; and that virtuous lady entered the Imperial Harem. Then Fatimah, at the instigation of her own father-in-law, urged that the Emperor should become connected in marriage with other nobles also of Agra and Delhi, that the relation of equality (between the different families) being manifested, any necessity for unreasonable preference might be avoided."

Budaoni connects this story with the attempt on Akbar's life by the slave of Mirza Sharufuddin. Anyhow Akbar, although he had Muhammedan wives, had Hindu wives also, and to them, as I have already said, probably, his first estrangement from the Muhammedan faith was due. On the whole we conclude that as regards women, Akbar was neither better nor worse than the average Eastern, much better certainly than most of the contemporary Kings of India at the time. Women did not influence him as to his general character, we never read of him as having been kept from any of his pursuits as warrior or king by any woman, but all the same as I have already said, like unto Solomon's wives, his Rajput Princesses led him away from the straight path. Up to a late period, he, however, seems to have paid in many ways great respect to his paternal religion. As a proof of

this I may mention that in the year 1585 A.D. Abu Turab brought from Mecca a stone upon which there was said to be an impression of the Prophet's foot. His Majesty went out four kos to receive this stone with every mark of honour. An order was passed that all the Amirs in turn should carry it on their backs a few steps. So each one carried it a little way and brought it into the city.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A SECOND potent influence which led Akbar away from strict Sunni orthodoxy, is to be found in administrative reasons. Rigid Muhammedans may be great conquerors, but when once a country is conquered and settled down if they are to be great rulers, they cannot be guided altogether by the Koran. Christian rulers, even the most pious have recognised that they need to look elsewhere than the Bible in order to govern well, but the Muhammedan adopts the Koran not only as his rule of life but as his rule of Government. To him all the precepts necessary for a righteous rule are to be found in the one Arabic book. The consequence has been, especially in Muhammedan countries, where a part of the population is of a faith other than that of Islam, that the tendency of the ruling authorities has been towards a liberalism inconsistent with the strict rules laid down by Muhammad.

The self-seeking personal disaffection of many of these Muhammedan grandees drove Akbar more and more to seek Rajput support. The only solution of the problem how to make his subjects, Hindu and Muhammedan, equally his subjects was to introduce equality, whereas the touchstone of the Koran is inequality between believer and Kafir.

It was also necessary for this purpose to introduce absolute toleration as to which Akbar appears in a bright light beside many of his European contemporaries. But toleration is also inconsistent with orthodox doctrine.

A third cause which many may consider the most potent cause of all was the personal character of the leading Muhammedan divines themselves. The orthodox party's official head during the early part of his reign was one Mukhdum-ul-Mulk. Budaoni,

orthodox as he is, has hard words to say as to this man's greed and haughtiness.

In the year 1575 A.D. we are told that Akbar built a Ibadat-khana (house of worship, where discussions as to religion took place. The building was divided into four parts—in one of which Syeds used to sit—inanother the learned, in a third the men of ecstasy, and in a fourth the nobles. In these discussions the orthodox do not seem to have played a very dignified part, blustering rather than arguing and threatening rather than persuading. People of all sects were there as Abul Fazl tells us.* "Sufis, doctors, preachers, lawyers, Sunnis, Shiahs, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, Charbaks, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and learned men of every belief, were gathered together in the Royal assembly, and were filled with delight. Each one fearlessly brought forward his assertions and arguments, and the disputations and contentions were long and heated. Every sect, in its vicinity and conceit, attacked and endeavoured to refute the statements of their antagonists. One night the Ibadat-khana was brightened by the presence of Padre Rudalf, who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigoted men attacked him, and this afforded an opportunity for a display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly. These men brought forward the old received assertions, and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces, and they were nearly put to shame; and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Padre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say: 'If these men have such an opinion of our book, and if they believe the Koran to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me, with the Gospel in my hand, and the Ulama with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest.'" The black-hearted mean spirited disputants shrank from this

* Elliott, Vol. VI, p. 59-60.

proposal, and answered only with angry words. This prejudice and violence greatly annoyed the impartial mind of the Emperor, and, with great discrimination and enlightenment, he said: 'Man's outward profession and the mere letter of Muhammedanism, without a heartfelt conviction, can avail nothing. *I have forced many Brahmans, by fear of my power, to adopt the religion of my ancestors; but now that my mind has been enlightened with the beams of truth, I have become convinced that the dark clouds of conceit and the mist of self-opinion have gathered round you, and that not a step can be made in advance without the torch of proof. The course only can be beneficial which we select with clear judgment. To repeat the words of the Creed, to perform circumcision, or to lie prostrate on the ground from dread of kingly power, can avail nothing in the sight of God.

Obedience is not in prostration on the earth;
Practise sincerity, for righteousness is not borne upon the brow.

The Christians who came to the Imperial Court, one of whom Padre Rudolf Abul Fazl mentions, were Catholics from Goa. Catrou, a Jesuit Priest, has written a short history of the Moghul Dynasty founded on the Memoirs of a Venetian Signor Manouchi, for many years a Physician in the Imperial Court. He tells us how in response to a letter sent by Akbar to Goa, three priests were sent to Agra, *viz.*, Fathers Rodolph Aquaviva, Antony Monserrat, and Francis Henrick. According to him Akbar was more or less persuaded that the Christian faith was true. He was dissuaded on account of State policy and personal reasons to abstain from embracing it. This we need hardly believe. Of the three Missionaries two returned after a short stay to Goa, but the third Father Rudolf stayed in the Imperial Court for some years. On a further occasion fresh Missionaries came from Goa. As to Akbar's religious convictions they gave various reports, but as regards the real facts there is no doubt that he never went further than the Roman pro-Consul who

* Budaoni says it was a Muhammedan who made this challenge.

declared to the Apostle Paul "almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." To the emblems of the Christian faith, such as the cross and the images of Jesus and His Mother, Akbar paid the utmost respect, and when he was presented with a Bible he placed it upon his head as a sign of respect. His children he made kiss the images, and made them also begin learning lessons by reciting the words "In the name of Jesus." But all this outward respect was nothing.

Akbar's religious views were not in any way towards the recognition of the Galilean as the incarnate God. If God was incarnate on earth, Akbar believed himself and no other as the incarnation. That he tended towards such a belief is certain. Flattery, perception of the smallness of the men, who vaunted most of their religious opinions, the feeling that he alone was capable of doing justice towards the whole of his subjects and of his superiority to those with whom he had to deal, all led him in this direction. The first step was a Fataha to the effect that a just ruler is a supreme judge in all religious matters, and that the Ulema (the wise men) are all subject to him in this respect. A *farman* was published to this effect. It bore the seal and signature of Mukhdum-ul-Mulk and of other of the Chiefs of the Muhammedan Hierarchy, but was probably the work of Abul Fazl, or as Budaoni suggests of his father. This document practically destroyed the power of the Ulema. About the same time in the year 1580 A.D. Akbar read himself in the Mosque the Khutbah. All at once we are told that he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaikh Faizi had composed, but came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of Imam to Hafiz Muhammad Amin, the Court Katib. These are the verses :—

* "The Lord, who gave to us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart, and a strong hand,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
And drove from our thoughts all save equity,
His description is higher than the range of thought,
Exalted in His Majesty, Allahu Akbar."

* Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 277.

These last words have a double meaning. Literally they are God, he is the greatest, Akbar being an Arabic word for the greatest, but they can also be read as meaning Akbar he is god, and consequently, objections were raised by the orthodox to their being put on the coinage at the time. Akbar seems to have been tinged with the Mehdiism then prevalent, and to have got the idea that he was the Messiah who was to come in the year 1,000 of Hegira (corresponding with the Christian year 1592 A.D.) Before this year a religious sect known as the sect of the divine faith was founded at the Court, Akbar being the head thereof, and Abul Fazl and others of his family being the most conspicuous of its members. As regards outward observance, Akbar for a number of years previous to this, had verged more and more towards Hinduism. He appeared with a Brahmini mark in his forehead and with a Brahmini cord around his body. The killing of cattle was forbidden first of all one day of the week, and then on other days as well. The sun, which to use Mirabeau's words, was considered by the Members of the divine faith, if not God as his cousin-german, was worshipped four times a day. Wine shops, abominations to the orthodox were officially allowed. When Akbar appeared at the palace window in the morning, as the Moghul Emperors were wont to do, for only thus was it known that they were living, crowds of Brahmins used to greet him by prostration.* Budaoni says: "Cheating, thieving Brahmans collected another set of one thousand and one names of 'His Majesty the Sun' and told the Emperor that he was an incarnation, like Ram, Krishna, and other Infidel kings; and though Lord of the World, he had assumed the shape, in order to play with the people of our planet. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanscrit verses said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honour Brahmans and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed

* Budaoni, Vol. II, p. 336.

every word of it—'Every one to whom thou saidst, welcome : was welcome.'"

It was not only the old orthodox Muhammedans who stood aloof from all this. Man Sing on being asked to join the divine faith answered the Emperor very much in the same way that Colonel Kirk asked James II more than two centuries ago. Hindu he was, of Muhammedanism he knew, but of any further religion he neither had nor wanted to have any acquaintance. Nor was he alone in this. Other courtiers both Muhammedan and Hindu stood aside from these innovations. According to Budaoni only one class of men were exempted from the universal toleration shown by the Emperor, and these were the old orthodox Muhammedans. Probably like unto his contemporary Queen Elizabeth, Akbar cared little for their opinions but strongly objected to their teaching disloyalty.* As Budaoni says "one by one he sent all the Mullahs, against whom he had any suspicion of dissatisfaction, to the closet of annihilation. And having banished the Ulema of Lahore, he separated them from one another like a dishevelled thread."

A number of these men he sent to Kandahar to be exchanged for horses. What use the buyers derived from their purchase we are not told.

Akbar's religious tenets did not long survive his death, indeed they could not, for the sect of the divine faith without its head was practically a contradiction in terms, but his two immediate successors inherited from him the great principle of toleration, and though there was always a backward tendency, still it was only under his great grandson Aurungzeb that Koran Government and even then but partial Koran Government resumed its sway. The English, whether by way of inheritance or by reason of the necessity of their position, have adopted the views and principles of Akbar, and it is one of the greatest glories of their sway, that although there be millions of bigots still throughout this vast country, no inhabitant is harmed or

* Budaoni, Vol. II. p. 285.

treated unlike to any other on account of his faith whatever it may be. A minor but useful result of Akbar's religious eclecticism was the interest which he caused to be taken by Muhammedans in ancient Hinduism and its literature. He had both the Ramayana and the Mahabharata translated into Persian, and the greatest of his grandees were not above enquiring into the history of India as it was before the Muhammedan invasion.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

War can build up an Empire. Of this there are numerous illustrations in Asiatic history, but only sound administration can maintain it when so built up. The foundation of all good administration is finance. Unjust taxation devours the means of the production of the community, so that it is incapable of producing in future; with such no rule can flourish. Injustice in the law courts only touches a very small section of the community, but unjust taxation reaches from the highest to the lowest. Now, in the East generally and in India in particular as I have already stated, the main sources from which all revenues derived is the land. In the time of the Moghuls and indeed even now there are but few great cities in India; so manufacture and trade only give a small part of the Imperial revenue which is mainly derived from the produce of the soil.

The Muhammedans who invaded and conquered Hindustan during the centuries previous to Akbar were more or less divided into clans, and the consequence was that the Ruler at Delhi was only the nominal ruler of a great part of the country. He would collect directly only the revenue of the country immediately around Delhi. Further away the clan chiefs would themselves collect the revenue, the country through which they collected it being termed their jagir or some other word expressive of the fact that it was land from which they and not the ruler collected the revenue. If the Delhi King were capable and powerful, these local chieftains would have to pay a certain part of the revenue so collected into the Imperial coffers. Little, however, ordinarily found its way

from local sources into the Delhi treasury. Such a system ruled when Baber invaded India. I have already shown how Sher Shah tried to remedy this, and how he initiated a system of land taxation, whereby the greater part should come into the coffers of the State and not into those of the local rulers. Sher Shah's reign was, however, too short for any great reform. After his death the Empire fell into confusion, and it was only with Akbar that a system of scientific land taxation really came into force. His chief agent in this was Todar Mul, of whom I have already spoken as a warrior. The years of his activity as financier were roughly between 1570–1590 A. D. in which latter year he died in Lahore about the same time as Bhagwan Das, the father of Man Sing. It may be noted here that Akbar's chief General, Man Sing, was a Hindu ; so were his court favourite Raja Birbul and his chief Administrator Todar Mul. The foundation of the land settlement of Akbar was the measurement of land. Every British Administrator in India knows that, in order to have good administration a satisfactory land measurement, is necessary, both for the purpose of seeing that the Government demand is fairly assessed and for the purpose of protecting the cultivator from the many middlemen whom custom or grant has interposed between him and the State treasury. Such a measurement was ordered at Todar Mul's instigation by Akbar. As it was completed, revenue was assessed thereon, certain deductions for a short period being made on account of waste land capable of cultivation during which it was expected to be brought under cultivation. "For lands which had lain waste four years they were to receive a deduction of one-half for the first year, for the second year one-quarter, and for the third year they were to pay according to established rule. For lands which had lain untilled for two years, they were to receive a deduction of one-fourth for the first year. For uncultivated land, they were to receive a small allowance of grain, so as to make the lands capable of yielding revenue." Such deductions were necessary in order to encourage cultivation ; for, during the wars in the early part of the sixteenth century, large tracts of country had gone

waste. The ordinary proportion taken by the treasury was a third roughly of the net produce. For the purpose of collection each tract of country, paying a crore of dams (Rs. 2,50,000) was put in charge of an officer named as a Krori. This was as regards Royal lands. Where there were jagirs or other lands of the same sort, the same course could not be exactly followed, for a jagir was land the revenue of which, subject to a certain payment, belonged to an individual. One of Todar Mul's great tasks was to resume as many of these jagirs as possible. A great many noblemen certainly managed to keep them, in spite of all Todar Mul's efforts, but, on the other hand, as they died, the State resumed most of them. Besides these jagirs belonging to nobles, which paid but little to the State, there was another sort of grant of land known as the Madadmash or Aimah (there are also a lot of other names for it) given ordinarily to Muhammedan Sayyids and learned men. Such a system lent itself to the greatest of abuses. One of Akbar's greatest reforms was the resumption of such land. Probably this more than anything else led to his unpopularity amongst the Muhammedan community. As to this, Budaoni* tells us the following :—

"In this year His Majesty gave orders that the Aimahs of the whole Empire should not be let off by the Kroris of each *parganna*, unless they brought the farman in which their grants, subsistence allowances, and pensions were described, to the Sadr for inspection and verification. For this reason a large number of worthy people from the extreme east of India to lands as far as went as Bakhar (on the Indus) came to Court. If any of them had a powerful protector in one of the Amirs, or near friends of His Majesty, he could manage to get his affair settled; but such as were destitute of such recommendations had to bribe Sayyid Abdur-ur-rasul, the Sheikh's head-man, or make presents to his chamberlains, door-keepers, and sweepers, in order to get their blanket out of the mire. Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were

* Budaoni, Vol. II. p. 207.

utterly ruined. Many of the Aimahdars, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the Emperor. And when the Sheikh (the Sadr of the time) in all his pride and haughtiness, took his place upon his official seat, and influential Amirs introduced to him in his audience-hall scientific or pious men, the Sheikh used to receive them in his infamous manner, coming forward and paying respect to none. And after much asking, begging and exaggerating he allowed, for example, a teacher of the Hedayah and other college books, 100 bigahs more or less; and though such a man might have been a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Sheikh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindus, he granted lands for the first time. Thus, learning and learned men fell from day to day into lower estimation. Even in the very audience-hall, when after midday prayers he sat down on his throne of pride, and washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt the water, which he had used, on the head and face and garments of the great Amirs and courtiers of high degree who were near, and made no exception. And they with a view to helping the poor suppliants bore all this, and condescended to fawn on him, and flatter and toady him to his heart's content, in the hope of securing at last some compensation for the insult.

> 'When a rustic becomes a Judge,
> He wills such decrees, that they will kill him.'

Never in the time of any Emperor had such absolute power been given into the hand of any Sadr."

As the years of the reign went on, resumption orders became more and more imperative. After Todar Mul, Shah Fathullah became Dewan of the Empire. He is said to have been a man for whom Akbar had the greatest respect, although he would never deviate from the strict tenets of the Shiah sect to which he belonged. Of him, it is said, however, that he could not make a grant of five bigahs of land.

The East India Company had a very similar experience when it first took over direct collections of revenue. In the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, everywhere claimants arose stating that they had had grants made to them by previous rulers. So grave became the nuisance that formal regulations had to be passed declaring that all grants which were not previous to a certain date were bad. To collect the revenue in each of the new districts found by Akbar, a revenue officer known as a Krori, as I have already mentioned, was appointed. It was his duty to superintend first of all the measurement. The power of distraint was given, but it was directed that it should only be used in extreme cases. These Kroris had instructions not to remit revenue on the Madadmash and Aimah grants without special instructions. How such a system worked out depended chiefly on the character of the Krori. According to our friend Budaoni, these officials showed themselves very oppressive. It is a difficult thing to prevent Eastern officials from using their position as a means of personal profit. However perfect any system may be in its institution, when it has to be worked by subordinates, corruption must more or less creep in. We know this to be the case even in the present day. In spite of vigilance on the part of the superior officials, still the custom of the country, as it is called, allows subordinates to take presents from those with whom they have to deal. We are not to imagine that Akbar's Kroris were any exception to this rule, but the fact that the provinces as a whole settled down so quietly is a proof that their exactions did not exceed a certain point. That Akbar knew the Kroris not to be ever clean is clear from a curious regulation that the Kroris' wealth when they died should be paid into the Royal treasury. Akbar's care for the cultivators and his knowledge that on them the welfare of the country mainly depended, is to be learnt from certain further rules which he made. Injuries to the crops done by the Imperial camp and its hangers-on as it encamped in any place were paid for by the State. A great laxity seems to have been allowed in the method of paying revenue either in kind or in money.

As regards Akbar's general fiscal arrangements, the greatest measures in his reign were the abolition of the Jizyiah, a tax levied on all non-Muhammedans, the reduction of external custom duties and the abolition of internal transit duties. These latter, whether in Asia or in Europe, have always been a great source of revenue to small local chiefs, who by reason of them have exacted from merchants sums of money for the privilege of carrying their stores through the lands they rule; but have ever been a curse to trade and a cause of the greatest oppression. Akbar also reduced a number of petty irritating duties, such as trade licenses, taxes on trees and the like (he, however, demanded that presents should be made to himself), and on the whole was what nowadays we would call a free-trader. The whole system of taxation in his reign was reduced from complexity into comparative simplicity, its incidence falling mainly on certain large sources of income.

As regards military matters an officer's rank in the army was calculated by the number of men over whom he was set. There was a true calculation and a fictitious one. There was a calculation as to the number of footmen and as to the number of horsemen. The comparative rank of an officer can be told from his nominal rank; so can the allowances made to him; but it is unsafe to calculate from the nominal number of men over whom he was put, anything as to the number of effective soldiers he could put on the field. One of the duties of an officer was to bring his horses from time to time to muster. As to this all sorts of tricks were used. Officers, we are told, dressed up their retainers as cavalry-men and often mounted them on borrowed beasts, which were afterwards returned to their real owners. Consequently, the habit of branding horses (the brand mark was called Dagh) was introduced. This to some extent only stopped the mischief. The East was still the East, and tricks were played then as I have reason to believe, they are played even now, on officials to pass off as genuine counterfeit articles. Akbar's punishments though severe were probably less effective than those sanctioned by the present law, as participants in such frauds were commonly found amongst the supervising officials.

Akbar's chief reform as regards the coinage all was to call in the whole of the old coins. The ordinary complaints about false coining which always attend such a measure, are to be read in Budaoni's pages. These measures as to the unification of the coinage do not indeed seem to have been over-successful, especially in the remoter parts of the Empire, but still there was a limit put to the irregular coining in previous reigns, by fixing four head mints, *viz.*, Agra, Ahmedabad, Kabul and the Capital of Bengal as the only places where gold might be coined.

As regards criminal justice, the Collector of revenue, or in jagir lands, the Tehsildar (Collector) was also the District Magistrate. Law matters would be referred to the local Kazis, but, as a rule, the one criminal justice in the country was the local revenue or military officer (very often the two were the same person). The Emperor himself was the final Court of Appeal, and when he appeared in front of his window every morning, as he was supposed to do even when his health was failing, it was open to any one who wanted to demand justice from him personally. I need hardly say that this demand was very seldom made.

As regards civil matters, Hindus in matters especially connected with their religion, seem to have been governed by local juries (punchaits) of their own. Muhammedans had their Kazi. As regards other cases, there was always a final appeal to the law officers at head-quarters. As regards one matter, Akbar passed a regulation which could not be but pleasing to the Hindus. He would not allow a Muhammedan to take a Hindu wife without the consent of her relations. If he attempted to do so, the woman was given back. In one civil matter, Akbar set an evil precedent. Kings before him had seized the property of their dead nobles now and again, but he seems to have made this into a practice. Private people, indeed inherited their relations' goods, but when it came to a high official, the treasury seized all and only allowed the dead man's heirs a part as a matter of favour. In this way large sums of money came into the Imperial coffers. Sometimes as in the case of Mukhdum-ul-Mulk,

the avaricious Muhammedan divine of whom I have already written, an enormous sum was obtained on one death.

Akbar started both a postal and police system. The former was by means of runners. Thus, by a proper system of changes, the carrying of a letter from Agra to Ahmedabad was carried in five or six days, a distance of 900 miles. As to the police, they seem to have been solely a town police and were largely used as spies on the great men of the land.

As a builder Akbar's chief work is the fort at Agra. It took about eight years to build, and is to this day one of the most striking buildings of Muhammedan India. He also built, as I have already said, the palace at Fatehpur-Sikri and his father's tomb not far from Delhi. The latter is in itself a perfect illustration of the middle form of Muhammedan architecture, like to a Catholic Cathedral within which the world seems very far away. Glimpses from the parapet may be seen of modern and of the various mediæval Delhis, but save the cooing of pigeons and the occasional voices of a husbandman at work all seems still.

These are only three of Akbar's great buildings; others are to be found in many parts of Northern India.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

AKBAR died in the year 1605. His last years were troubled by the death of his children and by the ingratitude of his eldest and only surviving son Salim. I have already told how this latter Prince had caused the death of Abul Fazl, his father's most faithful friend. Man Sing, the most powerful noble in the kingdom, desired that Salim's son, Khusrao, and not Salim himself should succeed to the Imperial throne, and it is very doubtful, although we are told to the contrary, whether Akbar did not desire this himself to the last. His latter years like that of his great contemporary Queen Elizabeth of England closed in gloom. Stories are told of his death by poison, and it is added that the poison was contained in a pill intended for another. However, this may be, he died

a broken man. Two of his sons had died; his surviving son was hostile. The friends of his middle age had all predeceased him. Of his faithful Rajputs but one, Man Sing was living, and he was more intent on carving out a future for himself than caring for the dying man. Everything, when the end came, seemed dark. And yet what a wonderful work was this that Akbar did. Well, might he say like unto the great English builder: "If you seek my monument look around," for modern India is practically his work.

As a conqueror and warrior, he is not to be compared for one moment with his great progenitors, Chenghiz Khan and Taimur, but as the founder of a State, not one of the rulers of the East (I leave out China and Japan of which I know next to nothing) are to be compared to him. The only comparison I can make is to Omar, the second Khalifa after the prophet, whose commanding personality it was that made the Khalifate the great State it became. But the Khalifate was more successful, indeed almost solely successful, where the vast majority of the population under it was of the Muhammedan faith. By far the greater number, however, of Akbar's subjects were not Muhammedans but Hindus. To have welded these races together side-by-side, so that they might live as a common community, was Akbar's great work. Thereafter, in the history of India, we may read of a bigoted Muhammedan trying to persecute the Hindu community, or of Hindus interfering with Muhammedan rites, but it is seldom on a great scale and never for any length of time successful. Not only did he weld them into one community, but he gave them one common law. He perceived the truth of the axiom that the prosperity of the subjects is the prosperity of the State, and far and above any other great Eastern rulers of whom we read, he tried to act accordingly. The weakness of his Empire was really military. Stopping, as I have said, the influx of fresh blood from beyond the North-Western hills and acting on the principle of India for the Indians, he was the indirect cause that when the Empire built up by him was challenged by a hostile power, it turned out to be incapable of protecting itself. So

strong, however, was its texture that though the Empire itself went down and though rule ceased from the Moghul race, the methods of government, some of which were introduced by him, and some of which were developed and systematised from older methods, have still held their own and are the basis of British rule to-day. That each person should be taxed according to his ability, that there should be shown no exemption or favour as regards this, that equal justice should be meted out and external foes kept at bay, that every man should be at liberty to believe what he pleases without any interference by the State with his conscience; such are the principles upon which the British Government in India rests, and such are its real boast and strength. But all these principles were those of Akbar, and to him remains the undying glory of having been the first in Hindustan to put them into practice. These rules now underlie all modern Western States, but few even of such States can boast that these principles are as thoroughly carried out by them in this the twentieth century, as they were by Akbar himself more than three hundred years ago.

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